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The Shape of Things

THE SYMBOLIC AND POLITICAL VALUE OF THE liberation of Rome need hardly be stressed, but its military significance is not yet clear. As General Alexander has emphasized, the primary objective of the Allied army in Italy is not the capture of territory but the destruction of the enemy forces. This end has still to be achieved. In the twenty-four-day offensive which preceded the fall of Rome the Germans were badly mauled. They lost heavily in men and equipment, and many thousands were taken prisoner. But by flinging his reserves into Valmontone and holding that point for several days, Field Marshal Kesselring kept open the Via Casilina long enough for the bulk of his forces in the Sacco and Liri valleys to escape. However, he is by no means out of the woods. If our advance columns can pass rapidly through Rome and seize control of the roads paralleling the Tyrrhenian Sea, the effect will be to press the Germans back into the mountainous interior of the peninsula, where they will be badly hampered by inadequate communications. Politically the fall of the Italian capital has brought the fulfilment of King Victor Emmanuel's promise to retire in favor of Prince Humbert, a move which leaves the situation unchanged. The prince is tarred with the same Fascist brush as his father and is, if anything, more cordially disliked by Italian democrats. This "solution" of the monarchy problem is a makeshift the flimsiness of which will become increasingly apparent as more of Italy is freed.

*

CATHOLICS ALL OVER THE WORLD WILL BE happy to see the battle for Rome ended without a fight within the walls of the Eternal City and to know that the Pope has passed safely from Axis custody to territory under Allied control. Many of us, however, would be happier if we felt that in receiving the Pontiff we were welcoming a true friend of our cause. With the geographical and ecclesiastical limitations the Vatican has had to face, nobody expected the Pope to assume a belligerent role. It was, however, fair to count on greater firmness in his condemnation of Nazi crimes; it was certainly proper to expect a strict observance of neutrality. The Pope's speech of June 2, on the very eve of our occupation of Rome, was not the speech of a neutral. In taking a stand against the need for total victory when

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the hour of Europe's liberation was about to strike, he was serving the cause of Berlin. Those of us with longer than war-time memories ask if this is not the same Cardinal Pacelli, the Vatican's Secretary of State, who oriented the policies of the Holy See against Spanish, Czechoslovakian, and Austrian democracy. Indeed, the speech had the familiar ring of that religious totalitarianism that regretted the Reformation because in smashing the authoritarian controls of the Middle Ages it opened the floodgates of democracy. Perhaps even now the enemy is rejoicing that within the camp of the Allies there is so influential an agent of a negotiated peace.

*

THE PRIMARIES SCOREBOARD IS GOOD TO look at these days and we think it worth while to reproduce it for the record. Someone may even spot a trend.

North Carolina	Senator Robert R. Reynolds retired
Wisconsin	Howard J. McMurray nominated for Senator
Alabama	Joseph Starnes (Dies Committee) defeated
	Lister Hill renominated for Senator
	Luther Patrick nominated for Representative
Florida	Claude Pepper renominated for Senator
Indiana	Charles LaFollette nominated for Representative
Texas	Martin Dies retired
West Virginia	Rush Holt defeated for Governor
Ohio	Mayor Lausche of Cleveland nominated for Governor over Martin Sweeney
California	John M. Costello (Dies Committee) defeated
	Helen Gahagan nominated for Representative
Oregon	Wayne Morse nominated for Senator over Senator Rufus C. Holman

Coming up within the next month are the primaries in Idaho, Maine, North Dakota, Georgia, Arizona, Michigan, and Mississippi. "We've got a little list"!

*

SPANGLER, BUTLER, AND BRICKER—A TRIO OF frightened Republicans—have directed urgent and pathetic appeals to the Attorney General, the Senate, and the nation at large to be saved from a fate worse than death at the hands of the CIO Political Action Committee. The writing is plainly on the wall. The curtain is slowly descending on a tragi-comedy that has already played too long. Where are now the stout troopers of yesterday—Dies, Starnes, Holman, Costello—driven from the stage by the insistent voices of those who had sat watching the farce without realizing that they had the power to stop it? The Political Action Committee have declared that they are quite willing to appear before any proper committee of investigation and that their books and records are open. The net result appears to be: increased prestige for the Political Action Committee and the final alienation of an important section of the American labor movement by the Republican Party.

*

CONGRESSMEN MAY NOT READ THE BILLS they vote on, but their aptness in following the election returns was demonstrated on a number of important issues last week. Two months ago the House eliminated the school luncheon program from the agricultural appropriation bill by a vote of 136 to 52; last week it restored the program by attaching it to a pending bill for insect and plant-disease control. Earlier in a high show of independence the House had denied funds to the Federal Security Agency with the intent of forcing its liquidation; this action has now been reversed by the adoption of special legislation giving statutory authority to the agency. Less surprisingly, the House also voted to restore the Tennessee Valley Authority's revolving fund by rejecting Senator McKellar's amendment which would have forced the TVA's receipts into the Treasury and thus made the agency dependent on Congress. Another dangerous McKellar amendment, calling for Senate confirmation of all federal employees whose salaries exceed $4,500, was also thrown out by the House.

*

THE REFUSAL of 13,500 BREWSTER AIRCRAFT workers to budge when the navy shut down the big Long Island plant was an event of great portent. It dramatized a situation that is bound to loom with increasing seriousness as cutbacks in war production increase. Several aspects are worth consideration. First, the spirit of American workers, tempered in the fires of the depression and forged into a unity in the common war effort, will not stand for any government fuddling in the conversion of industry and the transfer of workers. All the talk of full employment must have consummation in plans that work. Second, it appears that the Brewster situation caught short the several agencies and individuals generally responsible for coping with it. It took the dramatic sitdown to bring to light the plans for reconverting the plant that War Mobilization Director Byrnes, the WPB, and the Senate Military Affairs Committee were apparently holding in reserve. Third, widespread conversion obviously involves more than renewing contracts or making over factories while the workers wait around. In many cases it means breaking up work forces and moving workers to other plants. But if workers are to accept the inconvenience of uprooting themselves and their families and seeking new homes, they must be assured that they are moving according to some over-all plan and not merely being dispersed so as to lessen the effect of their solidarity.

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THE WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION'S NEWLY announced program for controlling the hiring of all male workers of seventeen years of age and over appears to be a thoroughly sound one so far as it goes. It is only reasonable that in wartime all hiring should be channeled through some central agency such as the United States Employment Service. It is probable that this step would have been taken long ago if the Employment Service had been prepared to handle the responsibility. In the early days of the defense program, however, conditions in some of the local employment offices bordered on the chaotic, and it was recognized that they could not be burdened with additional tasks. Since that time the USES has successfully taken over responsibilities, and it is now well qualified for the job of supervising the ticklish employment problems of the "cut-back" period. Although some critics have attacked the WMC's new order as "totalitarian," actually it imposes no obligation to work upon any man. It merely prevents men from shifting from essential to non-essential work—a type of control that is clearly necessary.

✶

WE ARE SORRY TO SEE THAT IT REQUIRED some rather tricky parliamentary maneuvering in the House to obtain even the four-vote margin by which the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee won an appropriation of $500,000. The FEPC was included among eighteen war agencies in a supply appropriations bill which was taken to the floor under a unanimous consent agreement that points of order would be waived. The FEPC's opponents seem to have been taken unawares and claimed that they did not know it was included until after the unanimous consent agreement had been made. For once the agile Southern parliamentarians were beaten at their own game. The incident, however, may have serious consequences in the Senate. The reaction of the Republican press indicates that the Republicans may use this as an excuse to join hands with the "white supremacy" Democrats in another of those combined operations. Defeat of the FEPC, hitherto a purely presidential agency, would be a deadly blow to the morale of the Negro population already irritated and disheartened by discrimination in the armed forces as well as in industry. Praise is due Majority Leader McCormack for joining with Marcantonio in piloting the FEPC appropriation through the House.

✶

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CANADA IS described in an article by David Lewis which appears in this issue of *The Nation*. The most significant phenomenon is that the political competition is on the left, each party attempting to prove to the Canadian people that it represents the soundest kind of advanced social and political thinking. Forcing the pace is the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation—the C. C. F.—pledged to a program of socialist planning. Recent gains of the new party were climaxed last summer in the winning of thirty-four seats in the Ontario provincial election to the Conservative government's thirty-eight. On this occasion the C. C. F. showed its greatest strength in urban and industrial centers. Now it has an opportunity to test its hold on a purely agricultural area. On June 15 the Saskatchewan voters will go to the polls. The issue is a clear-cut one between the present Liberal government in power and the challenging C. C. F., which is conceded an excellent chance of victory. The outcome will have an important bearing in the federal election that is due to take place sometime within the next year. American as well as Canadian progressives are watching Saskatchewan with intense interest to see which way the political winds are blowing.

Another Snub for France

WHEN Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that he had invited General de Gaulle to come to London, bringing some members of "his government with him" (was this a prophetic slip of the tongue?), he added the move had the entire approval of Mr. Roosevelt. This suggested American participation in the conversations between the British and French and seemed to offer the hope of some agreed policy on France in the eleventh hour before the invasion. The hope was quickly quenched by word from Washington that the United States would not be represented at the London talks; and now de Gaulle is, quite naturally, hesitating to make the journey since he has no assurance that agreements reached with the British will not be nullified by the refusal of Mr. Roosevelt to indorse them.

It may be argued, of course, that the French leader would have an opportunity in Britain to negotiate with General Eisenhower, who has been entrusted with full powers to make arrangements for the civil government of France. But it is by no means clear how full General Eisenhower's powers are. Can he, for instance, decide to deal with the French Committee of National Liberation as the exclusive authority for the civil administration of the liberated areas? Can he arrive at binding agreements with the French authorities on financial and economic matters?

Questions of what kind of currency shall be used in liberated France, under what authority it shall be issued, and at what rate it will be exchanged against the dollar and pound are of outstanding importance. The Norwegian, Dutch, and Belgian governments have, it is understood, been promised control over their currencies; the French, very reasonably, demand the same privilege, which is one of the first prerogatives of a sovereign

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state. And French interests are deeply involved, for errors in fixing exchange rates will accentuate the inflation which has resulted from German occupation. In this connection, it is even more important, perhaps, that some control of spending by the armies of liberation should be instituted. If our soldiers, with their comparatively high pay, are permitted to compete with the local population for the very limited supply of goods available, prices are bound to soar while rationing systems will break down.

On such matters the French are certainly entitled to a voice in deciding policy. But in this instance, as in so many others, the negative attitude of the President to the French Committee and his failure to establish proper channels of communication with it have created a deadlock. The proper solution for this situation is one which we have urged for a long time—recognition of the Committee of National Liberation as the *provisional* government of France. Russia, it is believed, is pressing for this solution and may act unilaterally if we refuse to take the plunge. British opinion is pressing strongly in the same direction but the Churchill government appears committed to rubber-stamping American policy.

Consequently, the invasion of France may take place with the situation completely fluid, with no settled plans for dealing with the myriad problems of civil administration that will arise. Perhaps that is what the President wants; perhaps, distrusting the De Gaullist movement, he cherishes a belief that once France is liberated some other group will miraculously emerge and prove capable of restoring France to constitutional government. Undoubtedly there are anti-Gaullist groups waiting to catch the Presidential eye but they are composed of men who having run with the Nazi hounds now hope to finish with the Allied hares. To range our power and influence behind them would be to declare war on the people of France.

The Texas Plot

DIEHARDS of the right in both parties are determined that if they cannot beat Roosevelt by rallying a majority of the voters against him, they will beat him in spite of the voters. That is the meaning of the Electoral College conspiracy which, after long and careful underground preparation, was unveiled at the Texas Democratic convention. It is not confined to Texas. The earlier decision of the South Carolina Democratic convention to postpone the choice of the state's Presidential electors until after the national convention was the first hint of the plot. And now its organizers are working to bring in four other states—Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi.

The technique the conspirators hope to employ to thwart the popular will is strictly in accordance with the *letter* of the Constitution. In Presidential elections the votes are cast not for the party nominees but for members of the Electoral College, who legally have the right to make a free choice of men for President and Vice-President. In practice, as Mark Sullivan has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune,* "the electors of a state are supposed to vote for that candidate for President who carried the state in the November election. They have done so ever since our two-party political system arose, with the solitary exception of one elector in one state in the year 1820."

The Electoral College is to the Constitution what the appendix is to the human body. The appendix has no function any more and normally causes no trouble. However, if it becomes infected and inflamed, the result is violent illness and even death unless it is promptly cut out. The Southern bourbons, aided and abetted by their Northern cousins, are deliberately attempting to inflame this vestigial constitutional organ—the Electoral College—although, as they must be fully aware, they thereby risk a dangerous sickness of the whole body politic.

The Texas gang which captured the Democratic state convention resolved to instruct their electors to ignore the national nominees for President and Vice-President unless the national convention in Chicago complies fully with their demands. Their terms include a Democratic platform which will specifically condemn the Supreme Court decision permitting Negroes to vote in Texas primaries and the various Administration efforts to diminish racial inequalities. In addition, they are insisting on a restoration of the national convention's two-thirds-vote rule for nominating Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. These terms, obviously, are completely unacceptable to the President and a majority of Northern Democrats. They could only be met at the cost of splitting the party in two.

No doubt the large minority of Texas Democrats who broke away from the regular convention will try to force the anti-Roosevelt electors off the state ballot. But such action, we understand, will encounter almost insurmountable legal barriers. The next step would be to attempt to put on the ballot a slate of electors pledged to the party's nominees. If successful, this would lead to a split in the Democratic vote and might enable the Republicans to capture the state. Even so, an election with rival Democratic tickets would be better than one in which Texans could merely have a choice between voting Republican or voting for "Democratic" electors committed to the defeat of Roosevelt—a choice which would mean effective disfranchisement of the probable majority.

In a close election—and this strategy is predicated on that possibility—the twenty-one Texas votes might be decisive in the Electoral College. If the conspiracy succeeds in naming "uninstructed" electors in Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, it would mean a reactionary bloc of seventy. These votes could be flung to the Republican nominee—no doubt

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the G. O. P. would be willing to make a suitable deal—or they could be given to some "safe" Democrat such as Senator Byrd. In the second case the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state delegation would have one vote. We should then have, perhaps at a most critical stage in the war, a prolonged period of confusion, violent controversy, and involved political bargaining. That is a terrifying prospect to any patriot, but as a Texas "neutral" is reported by *Barron's*, the financial weekly, as saying: "There's one motive behind the whole maneuver—to get Roosevelt, and my guess is that those boys will stop at nothing until they do."

Have We Lost the Peace?

SECRETARY HULL'S announcement that he was asking representatives from Great Britain, Russia, and China to confer with us on plans for post-war world organization is being widely hailed as an important step toward carrying out the commitments of the Moscow Declaration. The wording of the announcement and Mr. Roosevelt's guarded comments on it suggest that the plans have already reached an advanced stage, if, indeed, agreement has not already been achieved on essentials. This supposition is borne out by the close parallel between the statements regarding the future organization of the world that have been made recently in Washington and London. Purposely vague though these statements have been, they are specific enough to arouse grave apprehension regarding the trend of thinking in both capitals.

Churchill's recent speech, which in general was so alarming in character, made it clear that Britain is thinking in terms of a world organization that would be dominated, for a considerable period at least, by Britain, Russia, and the United States—with China possibly a silent partner. Eden confirmed this general impression a few days later in a speech which was slightly more detailed than Churchill's. America's attitude on the vital question of the relationship between the small and the great powers is not quite so clear. But Mr. Roosevelt may have had this issue in mind when he referred to the proposed organization as a 1944 model of the League reflecting in some ways a more cynical attitude than in 1918. Some ordinarily well-informed Washington correspondents insist that the "American plan" which Mr. Hull has worked out in consultation with a bi-partisan group of Senators closely parallels the British proposals in placing the greatest responsibility, and power, in the hands of the Big Three. The Secretary's attempt to reassure the small nations was so effusive that it is doubtful whether it carried much weight.

The problem of apportioning power and responsibility among the smaller and larger nations in a post-war international organization is of course an extremely difficult one. It cannot be solved by any simple formula. Quite probably we shall again have to fall back on some dual arrangement similar to that found in the Council and Assembly of the old League of Nations. But the plans now being discussed in London and Washington go considerably farther and would limit effective political and military power within the world organization to the three or four states that are carrying the main burden of the present war. This may be necessary in the first months following the defeat of the Axis, before the occupied countries can be rehabilitated. But it is hardly a sound pattern for a stable world order. It bears a striking similarity in principle to the "new order" which the Axis has been striving to impose in Europe and Asia. This similarity has, of course, not passed unnoticed among the exiled governments. The protest of the Netherlands Foreign Minister, Eelco van Kleffens, undoubtedly reflected the view of all the smaller countries. It seems peculiarly unfortunate that the British and American statements should have been issued on the eve of invasion when every effort is being made to enlist the active assistance of the peoples of Europe. Secretary Hull has indicated that some attempt will be made to conciliate the smaller countries by offering them certain safeguards and concessions in setting up the new international organization. But the fact remains that, according to present signs, they will be taken in as junior partners with very little to say about the operation of the firm's business.

Nor is this the only cause for apprehension in the preview of the peace plans that has been permitted us. We are told that the idea of a world police force, capable of enforcing the peace, has been dropped because none of the powers are willing to place any part of their armed services under international control. Instead, some provision will presumably be made whereby the new international agency may request the assistance of the various national armies in preventing future aggression. The weakness of such a plan should be apparent to anyone who lived through the tragic 1930's when the League was in process of disintegration. The League had no difficulty in enforcing peace as long as the great powers agreed among themselves. But it collapsed when the powers differed, or lacked interest, because it had no means of its own for enforcing its decisions. The creation of a genuine international force which is not subject to the limitations of conflicting national interests is basic to any plan of international security. Such a force should not, as was implied in the objection cited above, be composed of various national units serving under an international authority, but should be an international body, like, say, the French Foreign Legion, giving allegiance to the world organization. Unless some such supranational power can be created, capable of curbing future national adventurers, we shall have lost the peace.

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For the Jews—Life or Death?

BY I. F. STONE

[*At his press conference on June 2, after this article was written, the President indicated that he was considering the conversion of an army camp in this country into a "free port" for refugees. Unfortunately, as the New York* Post *has pointed out, "his statement was conditional, indefinite. The check is still on paper and we don't even know what the amount is." In these circumstances Mr. Stone's analysis of the urgency of the situation and his plea for public pressure to secure action from the Administration are no less valid than they were before Mr. Roosevelt spoke.*]

Washington, June 1

THIS letter, addressed specifically to fellow-newspapermen and to editors the country over, is an appeal for help. The establishment of temporary internment camps for refugees in the United States, vividly named "free ports" by Samuel Grafton of the New York *Post,* is in danger of bogging down. Every similar proposal here has bogged down until it was too late to save any lives. I have been over a mass of material, some of it confidential, dealing with the plight of the fast-disappearing Jews of Europe and with the fate of suggestions for aiding them, and it is a dreadful story.

Anything newspapermen can write about this in their own papers will help. It will help to save lives, the lives of people like ourselves. I wish I were eloquent, I wish I could put down on paper the picture that comes to me from the restrained and diplomatic language of the documents. As I write, the morning papers carry a dispatch from Lisbon reporting that the "deadline"—the idiom was never more literal—has passed for the Jews of Hungary. It is approaching for the Jews of Bulgaria, where the Nazis yesterday set up a puppet regime.

I need not dwell upon the authenticated horrors of the Nazi internment camps and death chambers for Jews. That is not tragic but a kind of insane horror. It is our part in this which is tragic. The essence of tragedy is not the doing of evil by evil men but the doing of evil by good men, out of weakness, indecision, sloth, inability to act in accordance with what they know to be right. The tragic element in the fate of the Jews of Europe lies in the failure of their friends in the West to shake loose from customary ways and bureaucratic habit, to risk inexpediency and defy prejudice, to be wholehearted, to care as deeply and fight as hard for the big words we use, for justice and for humanity, as the fanatic Nazi does for his master race or the fanatic Jap for his Emperor. A reporter in Washington cannot help seeing this weakness all about him. We are half-hearted about what little we could do to help the Jews of Europe as we are half-hearted about our economic warfare, about blacklisting those who help our enemies, about almost everything in the war except the actual fighting.

There is much we could have done to save the Jews of Europe before the war. There is much we could have done since the war began. There are still things we could do today which would give new lives to a few and hope to many. The hope that all is not black in the world for his children can be strong sustenance for a man starving in a camp or entering a gas chamber. But to feel that your friends and allies are wishy-washy folk who mean what they say but haven't got the gumption to live up to it must brew a poisonous despair. When Mr. Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board in January, he said it was "the policy of this government to take all measures within its power . . . consistent with the successful prosecution of the war . . . to rescue the victims of enemy oppression."

The facts are simple. Thanks to the International Red Cross and those good folk the Quakers, thanks to courageous non-Jewish friends in the occupied countries themselves and to intrepid Jews who run a kind of underground railway under Nazi noses, something can still be done to alleviate the suffering of the Jews in Europe and some Jews can still be got out. Even under the White Paper there are still 22,000 immigration visas available for entry into Palestine. The main problem is to get Jews over the Turkish border without a passport for transit to Palestine. "Free ports" in Turkey are needed, but the Turks, irritated by other pressures from England and the United States, are unwilling to do for Jewish refugees what we ourselves are still unwilling to do, that is, give them a temporary haven. Only an executive order by the President establishing "free ports" in this country can prove to the Turks that we are dealing with them in good faith; under present circumstances they cannot but feel contemptuous of our pleas. And the longer we delay the fewer Jews there will be left to rescue, the slimmer the chances to get them out. Between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 European Jews have been killed since August, 1942, when the Nazi extermination campaign began.

There are people here who say the President cannot risk a move of this kind before election. I believe that an insult to the American people. I do not believe any but a few unworthy bigots would object to giving a few thousand refugees a temporary breathing spell in their

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flight from oppression. It is a question of Mr. Roosevelt's courage and good faith. All he is called upon to do, after all, is what Franco did months ago, yes, *Franco*. Franco established "free ports," internment camps, months ago for refugees who fled across his border, refugees, let us remember, from his own ally and patron, Hitler. Knowing the Führer's maniacal hatred for Jews, that kindness on Franco's part took considerably more courage than Mr. Roosevelt needs to face a few sneering editorials, perhaps, from the Chicago *Tribune*. I say "perhaps" because I do not know that even Colonel McCormick would in fact be hostile.

Official Washington's capacity for finding excuses for inaction is endless, and many people in the State and War departments who play a part in this matter can spend months sucking their legalistic thumbs over any problem. So many things that might have been done were attempted too late. A little more than a year ago Sweden offered to take 20,000 Jewish children from occupied Europe if Britain and the United States guaranteed their feeding and after the war their repatriation. The British were fairly rapid in this case, but it took three or four months to get these assurances from the American government, and by that time the situation had worsened to a point that seems to have blocked the whole project. In another case the Bulgarian government offered visas for 1,000 Jews if arrangements could be made within a certain time for their departure. A ship was obtained at once, but it took seven weeks for British officials to get clearance for the project from London, and by that time the time limit had been passed. The records, when they can be published, will show many similar incidents.

The news that the United States had established "free ports" would bring hope to people who have now no hope. It would encourage neutrals to let in more refugees because we could take out some of those they have already admitted. Most important, it would provide the argument of example and the evidence of sincerity in the negotiations for "free ports" in Turkey, last hope of the Balkan Jews. I ask fellow-newspapermen to show the President by their expressions of opinion in their own papers that if he hesitates for fear of an unpleasant political reaction he badly misconstrues the real feelings of the American people.

Canada Swings Left

BY DAVID LEWIS

AN AMERICAN liberal observing Canadian politics today would be struck by one encouraging fact: the competition between political parties is on the left. All the parties are vying with one another in presenting progressive measures for the post-war period —for greater social security, the rehabilitation of service men, the provision of full employment. Liberals and Conservatives alike are emphasizing the duty of "putting human need ahead of private greed." If the politicians keep only half their promises, the lot of the Canadian people will be greatly improved whichever party wins.

The reason for the shift to the left even by parties of the right is found in the temper of the Canadian people and the challenge of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, better known as the C. C. F. Everywhere in Canada there is a strong demand for progressive government, an unwillingness to leave the country after the war to the unregulated mercies of "free enterprise." This does not mean that Canadians have all become Socialists. It does mean, however, that they are convinced of the need for legislation and government regulation to guarantee them a minimum of security. Relatively little opposition to government controls as such is shown in Canada, and most of the complaints are confined to the business community. The workers and farmers, and many middle-class groups, are persuaded that some measure of planning is necessary. The old parties do not dare ignore these stirrings among the people lest there be an even more vigorous swing toward the C. C. F.

The C. C. F. was born of the Great Depression in 1932, as was the New Deal in America. Its program, however, was not grafted on to an old political party, which contained many elements basically opposed to progressive political action, but was fashioned by an independent party starting from scratch, without obligations to any contradictory forces or institutions. As a result the growth of the C. C. F. was at first very slow and its influence relatively small. At the same time it built on an integrated ideological basis which assured its continued growth.

The program of the C. C. F. is democratic socialism, with as much emphasis on the concept of a dynamic democracy as on the objectives of socialization. Like similar parties in other parts of the British Commonwealth, the C. C. F. rejects dogmatism and presses for immediate reforms as vigorously as for its ultimate objectives. It has thus become closely identified with the daily struggle of the workers and farmers of Canada. Its continuous and vigorous political activity is largely dependent on the voluntary aid of thousands of Canadians, who have thus developed a big stake in the movement.

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By reason of a combination of events in western Canada, the initiative in founding the C. C. F. was taken by farmer groups on the prairies. Western farmers participated fully in drawing up the party's first statement of principles, accepting its socialist aims as well as its immediate reform program. The party quickly became established in British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, and in Saskatchewan. In the rest of the country, particularly in central and eastern Canada, it had a difficult struggle for the first nine years. Influenced by the American trade-union tradition, organized labor remained officially aloof. But the C. C. F. continued to build painstakingly, patiently, from the ground up.

Just before the party reached its tenth anniversary, the turn came and it began to grow at a striking rate. In two years it won four federal by-elections and five provincial ones. This advance reached a climax last August in the provincial elections in Ontario, when the C. C. F. entered the election without a single representative in the Legislature and emerged with thirty-four members as against the government party's thirty-eight. At the present time the C. C. F. is the official opposition in four of the nine provinces. The first step in the growing tie between organized labor and the C. C. F. was taken by the eastern district of the United Mine Workers, which joined the party in 1938. The Canadian Congress of Labor, which includes Canadian branches of C. I. O. unions as well as a number of national organizations, has officially called on its member unions to affiliate with the C. C. F. and has formed a Political Action Committee to promote such action. Many A. F. of L. unions in various parts of the country are also affiliated.

Some seven months ago a Gallup poll showed the C. C. F. to have the support of 29 per cent of the people as against 28 per cent for each of the two old parties. Two later polls showed a small decline in C. C. F. support and a corresponding rise in that of the other parties. But there is reason to believe that this is only a temporary swing back by the outer fringe of C. C. F. adherents. Few people doubt that the party will emerge from the next federal election the second largest, if not the largest, party in Parliament.

The "free-enterprise" advocates recognize that they can combat the real and growing threat offered by the C. C. F. in only two ways—by a campaign designed to arouse people's fears of what would happen to them under the C. C. F., or by the Disraeli technique of stealing their opponent's political pants. Since the people are not likely to be frightened away from the C. C. F. if the only alternative is reaction, they must be persuaded that the other parties also stand for reform. Even big business has been forced to talk about a "reformed" capitalism and the need for curbs on its own excesses.

An important test of C. C. F. strength will be provided by the provincial election in Saskatchewan on June 15. There the battle is exclusively between the Liberal Party and the C. C. F., and it is a battle for power. The C. C. F. is better organized in Saskatchewan than in any other part of Canada. It has entered the election campaign not simply to make a little more progress but to capture the government. Observers are agreed that its victory is extremely likely. Obviously, if the C. C. F. does win, it will be given tremendous momentum in the rest of the country.

A victory in Saskatchewan will produce the first C. C. F. government in Canada and the first demonstration of the worth of C. C. F. policies and leadership. But the demonstration will be incomplete because it will be confined to a province. A provincial government has constitutional limitations which deprive it of many basic economic levers, such as, for example, monetary and fiscal policy. And, in addition, a C. C. F. government would probably face unfriendly or indifferent action by the federal government, to say nothing of the vigorous opposition of big business.

Thus if the C. C. F. takes over the government in Saskatchewan, it will have no easy task. Nevertheless, it is preparing for the event with confidence. It believes strongly that democratic socialists must be ready to assume power whenever the opportunity presents itself and must be bold enough to implement a progressive policy whatever the difficulties. The C. C. F. also has great confidence in its Saskatchewan leader. T. C. Douglas, a young man under forty, has been a member of the federal Parliament since 1935 and has exhibited a profound understanding of social and economic forces, a great deal of courage, and a keen political sense.

Another provincial election due this year will hinge on the strength of political developments in another direction. The Liberal Premier of Quebec, Mr. Godbout, has stated with as much definiteness as can be expected of politicians that he intends to go to the people before the end of 1944, probably in the summer or early fall. On this occasion the Liberal Party's rule will be seriously challenged not by the C. C. F. but by reactionary nationalist parties. The main contender against the Liberals will be their present opposition in the Legislature, the Union Nationale. The Union's leader is Maurice Duplessis, who was Premier of Quebec at the outbreak of the war and whose government was distinguished chiefly for its anti-labor measures and the notorious Padlock Act, a barefaced attempt to interfere with civil liberty. Next comes the Bloc Populaire Canadien, a dangerously reactionary and corporatist party which arose mainly in opposition to conscription and to Canada's all-out participation in the war. Recently there has been a split in the Bloc, and three well-known nationalist rebels—Hamel, Gouin, and Chaloult—have left its ranks.

The Godbout government has three or four major progressive measures to its credit. It has given Quebec

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women the right to vote in provincial elections, introduced compulsory school attendance, and paid particular attention to the Quebec farmers. One of its most important acts was its expropriation of the Montreal Light, Heat, and Power Corporation—a giant private-power monopoly—and its creation of a publicly owned hydro-electric system. The effect of these progressive measures, however, may be more than offset in industrial centers by that of two reactionary labor laws which seriously interfere with union rights.

The C. C. F. is relatively weak in Quebec although it is steadily gaining in strength, particularly among the organized workers. It is significant that the French Canadians in Ontario supported the C. C. F. in very large numbers in last August's election. C. C. F. growth in Quebec is accelerating now that the Catholic church has officially lifted an imagined ban against the party. The main interest in the Quebec contest, however, will be the strength of the nationalist groups and their fate at the hands of the electorate.

The provincial elections in Saskatchewan and Quebec have additional importance because they set the stage for the federal election, which is due any time within the next twelvemonth. All political parties are gathering their strength for that contest in the full knowledge that its result will determine the pattern of Canada's economic and social development. To meet the challenge of the C. C. F. the old parties, in collaboration with big business, have launched one of the best-organized propaganda campaigns in Canadian political history. Huge funds with which to finance it have been set up in various centers of Canada. Advertising firms and public-relations counsel have been engaged to direct it. The technique employed is the well-known appeal to fear. The press and the air are filled with the warning: "The C. C. F. will take away your homes, confiscate your savings and your insurance policies, grab your farm, and regiment your life in a bureaucratic strait-jacket." (American New Dealers will recognize the formula.) Because the Soviet Union is deservedly popular with the masses of the people, the old epithet "Communist" has been replaced by "National Socialist."

The C. C. F. is countering this attack with an intensive educational campaign. Having already won the support of most Canadians of all classes who are consciously ready to support fundamental economic change, it is now directing its appeal to the masses who are more concerned with their immediate prospects than with ultimate objectives. Fortunately the C. C. F. has always avoided doctrinaire jargon and has concentrated its attention on concrete, practicable proposals. It is now elaborating for the people of Canada a post-war program based on the pregnant lessons of the country's war economy. The program is directed to the achievement of full employment, a high national income, adequate housing and education, planned rehabilitation of service men, and a comprehensive scheme of social security. Its socialist proposals are presented challengingly in terms of these objectives.

A victory for the progressive forces in Canada will encourage progressives in other countries on this continent. And it will strengthen the influence of the labor movements in the British Commonwealth—an important factor in the development of a world community.

But Why Do Spaniards Talk So Loud?

BY LEON FELIPE

ON THIS point I think that I, too, have a few words to say. The raised voice in which the Spaniard speaks is an old defect of his race. Old, chronic, and incurable. We Spaniards have throats that are hoarse and raw. We talk in a shout, as if we had been hurt, and our vocal chords are forever out of tune. Forever, because three times in history—three times—we had to scream so loud that it tore our very larynxes.

The first time was when we discovered this continent, and there was need to yell at the top of our lungs, "Land! Land! Land!" We had to shout that word so that it would sound above the noise of the sea, and would reach the ears of men who had stayed behind on the other shore. We had just discovered a New World, a world of different dimensions, a world to which—five centuries later at the time of the great European shipwreck—man's hopes would have to cling. There were reasons for talking loud. There were reasons for shouting.

The second time was when that ghostly old eccentric the knight of La Mancha, grotesquely clad, with his broken lance and his paper helmet, sallied forth into the world and lawlessly launched on the four winds those words that men had forgotten—"Justice! Justice! Justice!" There were reasons for shouting then, too.

The third is more recent. I was in the choir that time. My voice is still hoarse from the strain. That was the shout we gave on Madrid's hilltop in 1936 to warn the sheepfold, rouse the shepherds, and waken the world: "Watch out—here comes the wolf! Here comes the wolf! The wolf!"

He who cried "Land!" and shouted "Justice!" is the same Spaniard who, only eight short years ago, screamed from Madrid's hilltop to the shepherds below, "Watch out! Here comes the wolf!"

Nobody heard him. Nobody. The doddering old sheep herders who write history to suit themselves closed all the doors and windows, made themselves deaf, filled their ears with cement. And even now they go about asking, "But why do Spaniards talk so loud?"

The Spaniard does not raise his voice. The Spaniard talks exactly on man's level. And as for those who think his voice is too high, perhaps that is because they are listening from the bottom of a well.

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Big Steel—Prince or Pauper?

BY BERNARD J. REIS

THE crucial point in the steel hearings now being held before a special panel of the National War Labor Board is whether the industry has sufficient funds to meet the wage and other demands of the United Steelworkers of America (C. I. O.). According to industry spokesmen, these demands would exhaust the financial resources of the steel companies and destroy their ability to provide jobs and maintain a high level of production after the war. Even before the case came up, the industry was telling the country the same story. It may be useful to test this claim by presenting a case history of the largest corporation in the industry.

Big Steel maintains that it is in a relatively precarious position. It argues that rising costs and frozen price levels are threatening its future security. In its 1943 report to stockholders it points out that "United States Steel was not able, after the payment of modest dividends to its common stockholders, to make an adequate addition to the fund carried forward for future needs. A continuation of such a state of affairs may prove serious to United States Steel and ultimately to the nation, as this fund constitutes insurance against the times when the customers' demand for steel may be small and the need for cash may be great." To buttress this point, the corporation claims firmly that after "dividends totaling $60,000,000 declared on the preferred and common stock, there remained from the 1943 income the relatively small sum of $3,400,000 to be carried forward for future needs. This was one-third of the amount carried forward in 1942 and was equivalent to about one-sixth of 1 per cent of $2,000,000,000 received from customers in 1943. This sum would cover costs, at current operating rates, for less than one day."

United States Steel, it would appear, despite its record-breaking war operations, is practically a pauper. Forgetting its rugged individualism, the corporation has widely proclaimed its poverty in large advertisements. Some sections of the press have already reacted with the proper degree of alarm. The New York *Herald Tribune*, for example, ran an editorial which argued that Big Steel must be maintained "in a financial condition which will insure its ability to do its share in meeting the post-war reemployment problem." It presented Big Steel's case in these words: "The fact that steel prices have been frozen at 1939 levels while wages and many materials used in steel production have been steadily rising is mainly responsible for the fact that this $1,428,000,000 corporation has been unable to make adequate provision for the vicissitudes of the future, complicated as these are by the prospect of transition from war to peace."

That is the story. Now let us look at the corporation's actual financial record during the war years and its position today. First consider the $3,400,000 added to earned surplus in 1943. At the end of 1939 the earned surplus (undistributed profits) was $263,000,000. By the end of 1943 this had risen to $377,000,000, an increase during the war years of $114,000,000. More than that, examination of the corporation's 1943 financial statement shows that it put away in its financial kitty many times more than the amount it added to its surplus. In that one year it set aside $25,000,000 for a post-war reserve. This substantial reserve has been built up during the past three years until it now amounts to almost $74,000,000. In addition, the corporation added more than $2,500,000 to its reserve fund for contingencies and various other expenses. Altogether, at the end of 1943, a general reserve, including the special post-war reserve, amounted to more than $126,500,000.

Furthermore, the corporation in 1943 deducted more than $85,000,000 for depletion and depreciation charges and about $43,650,000 for amortization of war-time facilities built by the corporation, a total of almost $129,000,000. Two points must be noted in this connection. First, the $43,650,000 deducted for amortization of war facilities is not altogether an operating cost. A good part of this amount probably represents a hidden profit. The corporation benefits from regulations which enable it to amortize war-time plants in five years —or less, depending on the duration of the war—instead of the twenty-five-year period which is the normal average for the industry. At the end of the war it will have completely written off its new and most efficient plants, and this will definitely be a war-time profit. Secondly, the charges for depletion and depreciation of more than $85,000,000 in 1943 are much higher than those of $61,000,000 in the prosperous year of 1937. An appreciable part of this difference is probably a concealed profit for the corporation. It is common knowledge in the accounting profession that what companies deduct for depreciation frequently does not coincide with the deductions permitted by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Another item in the corporation's financial report deserves comment. In 1937 United State Steel contributed $7,400,000 to its pension fund and in 1939 $8,300,000. But in 1940 its contribution rose to $15,600,000 and in

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1943 to $33,650,000. Actual pension payments, however, remained fairly stable from 1936 through 1942, the last year for which figures are available. In 1942, for instance, the corporation contributed $32,600,000 to the fund and paid out only $8,600,000 in pensions. It would appear that since 1940 more than $60,000,000 has been added to the fund over and above the pensions paid out.

While building up its financial strength in various ways, the corporation was still able to pay out more than $60,000,000 in dividends during 1943—$25,000,000 to its preferred stockholders and $35,000,000 to its common stockholders. This dividend level has been maintained since 1940. The common stockholders in particular have benefited from the war-time boom. In the four pre-war years, 1936-39, they received a dividend in only one year. This amounted to $8,700,000. Since 1940 they have been getting around $35,000,000 annually.

Moreover, the corporation's average net profit after payment of taxes during the pre-war years, 1936-39, was $44,732,000. For the four war years, 1940-43, its average net profit after payment of heavily increased taxes was $88,270,000. This rise of almost 100 per cent hardly justifies Big Steel's fears.

Accounting procedure has a great deal to do with the different pictures that can be drawn of the present financial resources of United States Steel. We have already indicated how it is possible for the corporation to maintain that in 1943 it was able to set aside only a relatively small amount for future needs, while actually it accumulated large resources. Further examination of the corporation's financial report reveals that it has been slanted in a direction that minimizes United States Steel's actual resources. As an example, the corporation carried its plant and equipment on its books as of December 31, 1943, at $1,011,000,000. On December 31, 1939, these properties were carried at $1,120,000,000. Considering the enormous addition that the corporation has made to its plant and equipment in the war years, the decrease shown on the books suggests that the present value of the properties is somewhat underestimated.

As to the corporation's liquid position, on December 31, 1939, its liquid assets, including cash and government securities, less all current liabilities, amounted to $457,000,000. At the end of 1943 this amount had grown to $681,000,000. But the corporation's financial position was actually much stronger than this figure indicates. During the period 1940-43 its long-term outstanding bonded indebtedness was reduced by $87,000,000; hence its position on December 31, 1943, was $311,000,000 better than at the end of 1939. There is another factor that underscores the financial strength of Big Steel. It will come out of the war with new and efficient plants and equipment that under post-war conditions will substantially reduce its operating costs. But even if this factor is ignored, liquid assets of $681,000,000 effectively answer the corporation's contention that during the period of reconversion it will not be able to operate for more than a few days because of its poor financial position. In fact, Big Steel is so fortunate as not to face a very tough reconversion problem. To a large degree it will continue after the war to produce the same products that it is turning out today. Besides, as we have shown, Big Steel has already charged off more than adequate amounts to take care of deferred maintenance.

There is a surprise ending to this story which is not generally known to the public. Under the provision of the 1942 tax law, Big Steel in the first two post-war years has the right to apply for tax refunds if its profits before taxes fall below a certain level. This level is the excess-profits credit of the corporation, which amounts to around $120,000,000. On this base, or credit, according to the law, Big Steel does not have to pay excess-profits taxes; it need pay only normal corporate taxes. And in the first post-war year that the corporation's income before taxes falls below this level, it has the right to "carry back" that portion of its excess-profits credit which is not used and apply for a refund on a large part of the federal taxes it paid in the second preceding year.

Without going into the details of this carry-back procedure, it is sufficient to state the results. Let us assume that Big Steel in 1944 breaks even and does not earn a dollar of profits. Under the carry-back provisions of the law it will be entitled to a net refund from the United States Treasury of about $49,000,000. If the same thing happens in 1945, United States Steel can benefit by the same amount, partly as an excess-profits-tax refund and partly in possible future tax savings. In other words, the tax law makes it possible for Big Steel to pay dividends in 1944 even if it only breaks even. It would have enough income to pay $25,000,000 to its preferred stockholders and $20,000,000 to its common stockholders, and to add a few millions to its surplus. These figures, of course, are based on a hypothetical situation and a generalized application of the tax law.

The tax law protects Big Steel in similar fashion up to 81 cents on every dollar of operating loss it may incur in the first two post-war years. By using the carry-back procedure, the corporation in 1944, if it suffered a loss of $7,717,000—an amount equal to its loss in the depression year of 1938—would receive a net refund from the Treasury amounting to about $55,000,000. Thus, even assuming fairly large losses, the Steel Corporation would be able to pay to its preferred stockholders the full $7 a year dividend and to its common stockholders dividends equal to 60 per cent of the war-time rate. The common stockholders would thus receive two and a half times as much as they did in 1937.

Big Steel, therefore, has benefited from war-time prosperity and is not going to the poorhouse tomorrow.

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Contrast the position of the corporation with that of the average steel worker once the war is over. The United Steelworkers of America made a study of the family income and expenditure of a typical steel worker in the period September-November, 1943. The study found that even with war-time wages the average steel worker was going into debt at the rate of 79 cents a week. He will not have very much in the way of resources to meet a protracted period of post-war unemployment. And he will have no guaranty of possible post-war refunds and tax savings equal to his pre-war earnings in the event he loses his job. That puts it squarely up to Big Steel to assume the responsibility of providing post-war jobs for its workers. It has the resources to do it, and with its potential post-war tax refunds it can carry out a bold program without any large risks to itself.

What we have said of Big Steel holds true, in general, for all American industry. With the cushion of potential post-war tax refunds, industry cannot use the excuse that the post-war picture is too uncertain for it to plan effectively now for full employment. Randolph E. Paul, former counsel of the Treasury, recently underscored this point in these words: "Whether we like it or not, government, and by government I mean the people, has become a partner in industry's reconversion costs and losses under the carry-back adjustments. In dollars-and-cents terms, we might say that government will be the senior partner for war-time excess-profits taxpayers with responsibility for 81 per cent of their losses. . . . Government has always been interested in industry's profits, but now it is deeply concerned also with industry's losses. With government sharing those losses, industry can maintain a high level of production and employment with a smaller stake."

Medicine and Politics

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

> What confusion!—What mistakes! . . . In the foreground of this picture, a statesman turning the political wheel, like a brute, the wrong way round—against the stream of corruption—by Heaven!—instead of with it. In this corner, a son of the divine Esculapius, . . . feeling his patient's pulse, instead of his apothecary's.
>
> —"Tristram Shandy."

THE inability of the medical profession to provide adequate treatment for the population as a whole was described in last week's issue of *The Nation.* A concrete measure to improve the situation is now before Congress. It has split the profession wide open.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill would enlarge the scope of Social Security benefits to include all types of medical care—at home, at the doctor's office, and in hospitals. It would provide for the services of specialists as well as general practitioners, and would cover X-ray and laboratory fees. It would apply not only to Social Security registrants but to their dependents. In addition, postgraduate medical education and research would be encouraged by grants-in-aid to physicians and to hospitals, schools, and research institutions.

Though the American Medical Association is fighting the bill, the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care and the Physicians' Forum are fighting for it; and the Association of Internes and Medical Students, by promoting objective discussion of its provisions, has been an influence in its favor.

The Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care is headed by Dr. Channing Frothingham of Boston. Its professional caliber is indicated by the fact that eighteen of its twenty-seven members are listed in "Who's Who in America" and the other nine are all prominent in medicine for their scientific or administrative work. Its breadth of vision is expressed in its statement of principles:

> It is recognized that the medical profession is only one of several groups to which "medical care" is of vital concern. Close cooperation between physicians, economists, and sociologists is essential. . . . It seems to us probable that certain alterations in our present system of preventing illness and providing medical care may be necessary.

This committee favors the general purposes of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, but believes it must be strengthened in a number of its provisions if it is to be effective. It has offered to work with the bill's sponsors to improve it, and they have welcomed the offer.

The Physicians' Forum, headed by Dr. Ernst P. Boas of New York, supports the bill with similar reservations. It started out as a small band of liberals in the New York County Medical Society and now has members in sixteen states. Its position is stated in its November, 1943, bulletin:

> There is a large hiatus between the high scientific levels to which medical knowledge has attained and the availability of this knowledge to the vast majority of Americans. . . . The serious social and economic consequences of illness make the problem of medical care the concern of the entire community as well as of physicians.

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But perhaps the most significant of all the liberal groups is the Association of Internes and Medical Students, an alert organization of the younger men and women in the profession. It has some 3,000 members, maintains an office in New York, and publishes a monthly magazine, the *Interne,* with a circulation of 25,000. It organizes lectures, forums, and radio programs on medical topics of public interest; it cooperates with labor unions and liberal organizations as well as with professional bodies; it makes a continuous effort to improve conditions in hospitals; and it takes an interest in the progress of medical education. In a poll of young doctors by the *Interne* last winter, more than half of those who answered favored "some form of health insurance"; about a third favored tax-supported insurance.

Outside the medical profession the bill is supported by the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and virtually all liberal organizations. It is opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee for Constitutional Government, Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, the Insurance Economics Society of America, and a curious organization called the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service (N. P. C.).

The N. P. C. might be described as the secular arm of the American Medical Association. It does the dirty work. Its sole purpose and function is to fight the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. It has no program of its own for improving medical care. At its annual meeting last November it resolved to support private group-payment plans, but in view of its previous bitter opposition to such plans it appears that its object in supporting them now is to create the impression that their existence makes a national plan unnecessary. It is closely allied with Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government; its administrator, John M. Pratt, is a Gannett protégé who was formerly executive head of the Physicians' Committee for Free Enterprise in Medicine and of the Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, predecessors of the two present organizations. There is no official connection between the American Medical Association and the N. P. C., but the House of Delegates of the A. M. A. last year adopted a resolution indorsing the work of the N. P. C., and the A. M. A. *Journal* promotes its doctrines.

The N. P. C. has admitted that its original capital came largely from the big drug and surgical-instrument firms. The relationship between these firms and the A. M. A. may be described as one of Mutual Helpfulness. Since approval by the A. M. A. is essential if a new drug or instrument is to be widely used in practice, the manufacturers court its good-will and even pull wires in its internal politics, using the golf course and the hunting lodge to good advantage; and now they are demonstrating their own good-will in very handsome fashion. With their financial backing the N. P. C. has blanketed the country with literature attacking the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

The N. P. C.'s chief publications are two pamphlets, "Abolishing Private Medical Practice, or Prelude to Centralized Control of the Professions and Industry," by Mr. Pratt himself, and the anonymous "$3,048,000,000 of Political Medicine Yearly in the United States." In the words of one of its promotion letters, the N. P. C. is "undertaking to distribute twenty million copies (20,000,000)" of the latter pamphlet at a cost of $200,000. It is probable that since the letter was written at least that many have been distributed. Doctors were asked to place copies on their waiting-room tables, mail them to friends, inclose them with their monthly bills, and hand them around at meetings of the "Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, [and] other group meetings." Copies were mailed from headquarters to editors, ministers, college professors, lawyers, and other professional groups. The misleading nature of the pamphlets becomes obvious when their language is compared with that of the bill itself. "Abolishing Private Medical Practice" contains this statement, for example:

> For the doctor state medicine means abject slavery; the necessity of catering to the ward committeeman or the precinct captain rather than to the needs of the human beings who are his patients.

Under the terms of the bill the medical portion of the Social Security Act would be administered by the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service (Section 903-a); his expenditures would be subject to the approval of the Social Security Board (Section 903-c); he would be advised by a council of sixteen members selected from a panel of names submitted by the medical profession (Section 904-a); local administration would be in the hands of the doctors themselves (Section 905, paragraphs 1 and 7). As neither the Surgeon General nor the Social Security Board is subject to the influence of the ward committeeman or the precinct captain, it is not clear how the doctor would be subject to it. The pamphlet does not explain.

Or consider this lugubrious chant from "$3,048,000,000 of Political Medicine":

> What does political medicine mean for sick people? It means that they must depend upon a doctor who:—
>
> Is paid by the government—presumably working eight hours per day. The emergency sickness must wait until the doctor is on the job;
>
> Is not the doctor of their choice but the one that has been assigned by a political bureaucrat;
>
> Cannot have a personal interest in patients who come to him because they are compelled to do so;
>
> Is less knowing and less efficient because he must follow methods and prescribe remedies that are fixed by his bureaucratic superiors;
>
> Since his job is political, is more interested in pleasing his political boss than in curing his patients.

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The presumption that the doctor would work only eight hours per day is gratuitous; the bill does not prescribe hours of work. As for payment by the government, the doctor would be paid "(a) on the basis of fees for services rendered to individuals entitled to benefits, according to a fee schedule approved by the Surgeon General [after negotiation]; or (b) on a per capita basis, the amount being according to the number of individuals entitled to benefits who are on a practitioner's list; or (c) on a salary basis, whole time or part time; or (d) on a combination or modification of these bases, as the Surgeon General may approve, *according in each area as the majority of the general medical practitioners to be paid for such services shall elect,* subject to such necessary rules and regulations as may be required." (Section 905, paragraph 7, my italics.)

The bill does not change in any way the traditional doctor-patient relationship. It states clearly (Section 905) that the individual physician is free to furnish services under the act or not (paragraph 1); that the patient may select any physician he pleases, subject, as now, to the consent of the physician (paragraph 2); and that "in any area where payment for the services of a physician is on a per capita basis, the Surgeon General shall distribute . . . on a pro rata basis among the practitioners of the area on the list . . . those individuals in the area who, after due notice, have failed to select a general practitioner or who having made a selection have been refused by the practitioner." (Paragraph 11.)

Moreover, the patient is free to go to a physician who doesn't offer his services under the act. (He would nevertheless have to pay the full tax, and this element of fiscal compulsion has been used as an argument against the bill. The principle, however, has long been accepted in other fields, notably in that of education, where all are taxed to support public schools, even those who send their children to private schools and those who have no children.)

The last two counts of the indictment are ridiculous. The remedies a doctor prescribes and the methods he uses are determined by his scientific training and professional standards, and there is nothing in the bill that would require him to consult other standards. The administrative machinery is entirely non-political.

The Committee for Constitutional Government is running its own campaign along similar lines. To a mailing list of doctors it sends literature in envelopes imprinted with this message in red ink:

> To All Physicians: Danger Ahead . . . Sen. Wagner's Bill 1161! See inside important message for you. Here are your WEAPONS! Protect your profession from SERFDOM to the STATE. Help NOW to save free enterprise for all.

The important message, entitled "Bismarck's Golden Chain," stoops to the demagogic *argumentum ad hominem* that Senator Wagner was born in Germany, but makes no specific charges against the bill.

The excerpts presented here are typical of the arguments on both sides. The difference in quality between those favoring the bill and those opposing it is plain enough. It is a fair indication of which way the truth lies. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill has nothing to do with state medicine. It is reformist rather than revolutionary in principle, and some of its provisions are modest to the point of inadequacy. If it fails of passage the necessary first step toward a more rational medical system will remain to be taken.

In the Wind

BIG BUSINESS CIRCLES are abuzz with rumors that the War Production Board may give permission next month for the resumption of civilian automobile production.

PROFESSOR HARLEY LUTZ of Princeton, who writes the monthly *Tax Review* of the Tax Foundation, sees no pressing need to keep "this something called the national income" at a high level or to achieve anything better than "reasonably full employment." He thinks full employment would cost too much money.

HOWEVER, THE WORLD does move. The London *Daily Mail* reports that Lady Hoare, wife of Sir Reginald Hoare, former British Minister in Teheran, wrote to the annual meeting in London of the National Anti-Vaccination League, of which she was an ardent supporter, that she could not attend because she had been vaccinated.

FORTY-FIVE COUNTRIES still belong to the League of Nations.

THE BIOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE announces a lecture on "Glamor—The True Reality."

MEDICAL CARE should not be thought of in economic terms, as if it were bread or coal, says Alphonse M. Schwitalla, dean of the St. Louis University School of Medicine. "To me," he says, "medical care is more related to a mother's love or a child's affection than it is to a loaf of bread or a ton of coal." That is the reason he gives for opposing the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

THURMAN BODDIE, Negro student at the New Rochelle, N. Y., high school, has been elected president of the student body. The school has a vast preponderance of white students. This is the first time in its history that a Negro has been so honored.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A new series of stamps showing the heads of Hitler and Mussolini was issued in Vienna. A man complained to a Post Office clerk that they didn't stick very well. "The stamps are all right," replied the clerk, "but people *will* spit on the wrong side."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Even Holland Goes Left

BY BLAIR BOLLES

THE people of the occupied countries look to the coming Anglo-American invasion to bring more than liberation from Nazi tyranny. They believe that it will introduce social and political changes which will make life much better than it was before the Germans came to plague them. The underground in the occupied countries has been nourishing new ideas—as well as plans for blowing up railroad trains and munitions factories. And nowhere have these ideas about the post-war period been formulated more clearly than in the Netherlands.

Thought in occupied Holland has a leftist tinge, if we may fairly judge by the available secret papers, of which *Het Parool, Vrij Nederland, Trouw,* and *Je Maintiendrai* are the chief. Altogether these sheets put out about 250,000 copies a week. Not all of them have the same political orientation, but they show remarkable unanimity in discussing the larger issues. A great many of these papers reach London and exert an influence on the Dutch government in exile.

They voice the general demand for a better division of riches among all Dutchmen, young as well as old. *Het Parool,* the Socialist paper, calls for an "end to the monstrous system which forces old people to toil until they are sixty-five or seventy, while youngsters get no chance to work. There should be a guaranty of reasonable comfort for everyone over sixty years of age, without further labor." And they ask an end to the Dutch custom of a long betrothal and late marriage, which has been the consequence of the young Dutchman's slow progress toward economic independence.

The friends of social justice at home seek its spread to the colonies. *Vrij Nederland,* which expresses the political attitude of some Catholic and Calvinist circles, demands that every economic and social reform won in the Netherlands be passed on to the East and West Indies. "Not our own needs and dividends are to come first," says *Vrij Nederland,* "but the needs and rights of the Indonesians." This is revolutionary in a nation which has granted some political but few economic advantages to its colonial subjects.

In many European countries before the war the efficiency of representative government was hampered by the large number of political parties. Holland had nearly twenty active parties. Now *Je Maintiendrai,* a royalist paper, proposes a two-party system, and other papers advocate limiting the number of parties. Of *Je Maintiendrai's* two parties, "the Progressives would include all those who aim at the greatest possible social justice and protection of the consumer, while the Conservatives' task would be to act as a brake on ill-considered experiments and extremist tendencies."

In foreign affairs "there will be no more neutrality and no more individual national policy, but the small nations will not be mere tools in the hands of their bigger neighbors." The Dutch underground writers believe in world collaboration based on regional understandings like the monetary agreement between the Netherlands and Belgian governments in exile. Winston Churchill's outline of a world council composed of representatives of four or five of the largest states does not please the Dutch. Foreign Minister van Kleffens has spoken out publicly in opposition to a world controlled by four or five "big brothers."

The Netherlands, like the other liberated countries, will have the problem of dealing with its traitors after the German defeat. It will also suffer the economic stringencies of the transition period between the withdrawal of the enemy and the reconstruction of the land, which is being impoverished by the flooding of productive agricultural areas with sea water. Inflation is the great dread of the underground. To prevent it, state control of the economy is advocated, with large government loans, high taxes, a property levy, and perhaps a forced-savings program.

The Dutch underground papers rule out personal vengeance against the Nazis and their henchmen. "Such action would simply bring down the Netherlands to the level of inhumanity reached by the enemy." Just punishment of the Germans, however, is urged "as a first condition for the solution of Europe's post-war problems." Traitors are divided into four classes: Dutch Nazi Party leaders, to be sentenced to death; commanders of uniformed Dutch Nazis, to lose Dutch citizenship and be sentenced to at least ten years' penal servitude; those who took an oath of allegiance to Hitler, to be deported, possibly to Germany; and the rank and file of the Dutch Nazi Party. No clear formula for the treatment of this last group has been offered.

Next Week in This Section

Several well-qualified observers just back from Chungking will give their views on Vice-President Wallace's visit to China, which is being hailed by the Chinese press and public as a historic event.

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The Same Man

Even in 1936 Mr. Churchill was displaying a zeal for the Spain of General Franco which it is difficult not to interpret as an enthusiasm for the traditional privileges of the aristocracy to which he belongs when those principles were called into question by the Spanish masses.—From the forthcoming book "Faith, Reason, and Civilization," by Harold J. Laski.

"Mr. Churchill has thought a certain way for sixty years and doesn't want to change."—Mrs. Roosevelt at a press conference.

Reactions to Churchill

What They Said in London

The *Economist,* liberal British weekly, commented: "Spain has not been neutral. Spain has been unofficially at war. It is sheer quibbling to say that Spain is not ranged among Britain's enemies. The Hungarians have not fought the British, nor have the Finns. Yet because of their attack on Russia, Britain is at war with both. It is curious procedure to give only glancing reference to Russia's part but four columns of kindly words to Russia's enemy. It throws suspicion on all of the more liberal passages in the speech.

"Mr. Churchill admitted he thought fascism the cause of the war. If in Italy, why not in Spain? The British know it is not their business to impose a government on Spain, but they are at a loss to understand why they should pretend to like this one or why the French committee should be thought less representative than Franco's government."

The *New Statesman* remarked that Mr. Churchill's view of Spanish fascism "precisely repudiates" the view of United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull that fascism and free government "cannot exist together in this world."

The *Daily Herald,* organ of the Labor Party, said that the most remarkable thing in the speech was the "flattering and almost fulsome tone of his references to the rulers of Spain." It added, "It is impossible to understand . . . why he should champion General Franco." The *Daily Worker* asserted that Mr. Churchill's "apologia for Franco" was "lamentable."

The Cartoonists

The Prime Minister used a harsh expression about cartoonists who draw "comical or even rude caricatures of General Franco."

This sentence seems to have whipped up British cartoonists into a frenzy of artistic activity to increase their output of anti-Franco cartoons. . . . The *News Chronicle's* cartoonist, Vicky, shows a fat nightgowned and haloed Franco with big blotches of blood on his hands and night dress and Churchill in shirt sleeves swishing a whitewash brush over the bloodstains. The legend beneath the drawing says: "Damned spot. Out I say. What? Will these hands ne'er be clean?"

Churchill's injunction to quit caricaturing Franco also prompted the *Evening Standard's* great cartoonist, David Low, to publish a sketch of Franco dejectedly huddled with his head in his hands amid shabby baggage on the platform of a railroad past which trains were speeding to victory.—*Frederick Kuh in* PM.

The Effect on the Neutrals

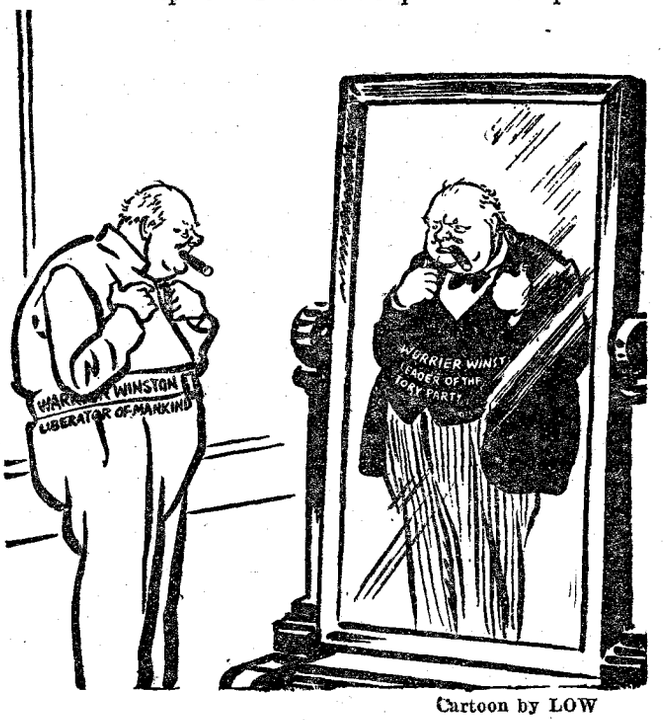
An immediate response to the Prime Minister's promises of friendly relations and profitable post-war trade with Spain was found in Swedish foreign-trade circles, which have been in the blacklist limelight for the last fortnight. After pointing out that Spain is the only country whose forces have actually fought against the United Nations, a report in the *Dagens Nyheter,* leading Swedish daily, commented that "from now on small democratic neutrals ought to be able to take threats about Continental blacklisting and other forms of post-war sanctions not too seriously."—*The New York* Times.

Moscow Disapproves

Moscow, June 1—In its first reference to Spain since Prime Minister Churchill's recent speech, the Soviet press today comes out strongly with the opinion that "the sick devil turned monk," as Franco is described by *Izvestia,* continues to help Hitler's cause both economically and ideologically. . . . General Franco, *Red Star* says, did not forgo an attack on the Western powers because he lacked the will to do so but because he . . . was fully aware of the hostility of his people and the disintegration of his army.—*The New York* Times.

The Phalanx Rejoices

Madrid, Spain, May 25 (U.P.)—Prime Minister Churchill's speech in which he praised the Spanish



Cartoon by LOW

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regime caused widespread satisfaction in all circles here today, and newspapers printed extensive front-page accounts, with his references to Spain in heavy black type.—*The New York* Times.

Distress in Latin America

Havana, May 25—Prime Minister Churchill's defense of Generalissimo Francisco Franco caused considerable surprise in Cuba, according to the reaction of the local press today.

The afternoon newspaper *Puebla* asserted that until the question of why Mr. Churchill was now defending General Franco was answered the conclusion was logical that Britain "is not as strong as supposed."

Mexico City, May 25—The Spanish refugee colony here—the largest in the world—expressed shock and amazement today at Prime Minister Churchill's "kindly words" about Franco Spain.—*The New York* Post.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN THE First World War, as we know, the correlation between developments within Germany and developments at the front was appallingly weak and slow. After the exhaustion and disintegration at home had become indescribable, the army continued to fight with undiminished tenacity, courage, and discipline. Similarly today the undiminished fighting qualities of the German armies are no proof that "things can't be so bad" in Germany. The fact is that the situation has become much worse than the American public, on guard against too great optimism, may think. The leading Swiss newspaper, the *Neue Züricher Zeitung,* printed on May 23 a sober, balanced account of conditions "behind the enemy line" by a Swiss just returned from Germany. The details add up to an impressive picture of decline.

> Books, furniture, and luxury goods are practically unobtainable. Even brushes, gloves, saucepans, crockery, knifes, forks, and dishcloths are rarities. Any repairs which the householder cannot undertake himself, no matter how small, become lengthy affairs of state; it often takes weeks of *démarches* to get the services of a mechanic. . . . Even towns spared by the air war begin to look run down.

There are also the difficulties of travel.

> When you enter Switzerland from Germany or the occupied territories, you are amazed at the comfort which is still regarded as normal here. The Swiss porter's perfunctory question at the frontier station whether he shall place your luggage in a smokers' or non-smokers' compartment, and on which side you prefer to sit, is an overwhelming experience when . . . you have probably spent the night in a corridor, squeezed against other passengers and unable to move.

A special chapter would be needed for the bombed cities, according to this Swiss reporter, who has visited a great many in western and northern Germany:

> The once busy streets are deserted. The traffic that formerly pulsed through them is reduced to a mere trickle. There is hardly any life left in the ruins and one doubts whether it will ever return as before. . . .
>
> The state takes care of the people that have been bombed out and of the évacués as well as it can, but its facilities are of course limited. Since complete compensation within a reasonable time is impossible, those who have lost everything are "declassed" in the truest sense of the word. The authorities issue purchase vouchers for clothes and household articles, but the time is long past when people could be sure of obatining something with them. The destruction of material goods has become so great that German industry, already overstrained, cannot possibly satisfy the demand. The glass industry is unable to replace broken windows; hence hundreds of thousands have to live and work in cold rooms. Transportation in the bombed cities is difficult and very slow.

What has been the effect of these conditions on the people? The most significant effect, in the opinion of this observer, is a deadly lassitude:

> The power of resistance has been gradually weakened. Air war does not break down resistance at one stroke but wears it down gradually. The excitement of the raids and fear of death finally leave their mark even on healthy people. Life becomes one dreadful makeshift . . . everybody gets nervy and overstrained.
>
> In the dreadful uncertainty of existence life loses all meaning. . . . A kind of defeatism, which is non-political to a certain extent, is developing. The number of people who can no longer keep up the fight, try as they may, is increasing. They are so tired that they crave an end to it all, at no matter what cost. A paralyzing exhaustion produces a boundless desire for rest. People show a certain indifference in all their actions. Evacués, for instance, make no effort to give their quarters a semblance of home. No one believes in the value of money, and it is senselessly wasted on trifles. In short, a normal human existence such as people must have to do efficient work is slowly but surely becoming impossible.

The Swiss returned home convinced that things could not go on indefinitely as they were. "One day the Germans will break under their burden." But he thinks that the very exhaustion of the people, the complete disintegration of normal life, will prevent their collapse from taking the form of a popular uprising. "The people have neither the strength nor the time to start any political action. The Nazis have nothing to fear directly from the home front." He is certain that the break will come at the battle front, either through a defeat, pure and simple, or through the infection of the front with the exhaustion and decline of morale of the people at home.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Press: Its Manners and Mores

THE DISAPPEARING DAILY: CHAPTERS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EVOLUTION. By Oswald Garrison Villard. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

MR. VILLARD is always worth reading on the subject of newspapers. All his life he has labored in the fields of journalism as reporter, editor, owner, publisher, and columnist, and he has combined this practice of his profession with a continuous study of its manners and mores. He has firmly held ideas about what a newspaper should be, and he finds all too few publications which conform to them. He dislikes sensationalism in both the selection and the presentation of news, comic strips, and sacred cows; he favors clean and dignified make-up, straight news, and editorial independence and leadership.

In this book, which is a revised and expanded version of an earlier work, Mr. Villard applies his tests to a number of leading American newspapers and newspaper chains. Among those which pass with fairly high marks are the *Christian Science Monitor,* the New York *Herald Tribune,* and the Washington *Post,* even though the author disagrees strongly with some of their editorial stands. The Chicago *Tribune,* the New York *Daily News,* and the Gannett newspapers come off much better than might have been expected, but in these cases Mr. Villard's judgments are colored by his own attitude toward the war. Thus he rather surprisingly hails Colonel McCormick for his championship of freedom of the press, although noting a few pages farther on the "vicious tactics" which he has employed in attempts to make this freedom impossible for competitors. "On international questions," Mr. Villard points out, "the *Tribune* has generally been cynical, reactionary, militaristic, and jingo, which added to the surprise that it should have taken the anti-war course that it did prior to Pearl Harbor." The author's unexpected pleasure at finding himself in agreement with the *Tribune* seems to have blinded him to the fact that its pacifism, unlike his own, is characterized by cynicism, reaction, militarism, and jingoism. The Colonel does not object to war as such; he merely wishes to choose his own enemies, and he does so never minding that some of them are America's allies.

Mr. Villard's appreciation of the *Daily News* may also startle some readers. It is possible to agree with him that, compared to Macfadden's *Graphic,* the Patterson tabloid is a model of decency. But one wonders through what spectacles Mr. Villard has read its editorials in order to see in them "the work of an editor who has not lost his head or discarded his judgment in this crisis, but continues to pass upon issues with peace-time detachment and unbiased scrutiny of what is going on." After this the Hearst press might have expected more kindly treatment than it receives in this book. Mr. Villard, however, has in no way revised his long-held opinion that Hearst has been a debasing and degrading influence on the newspaper business. He does not even mention, as a saving grace, the similarity of the Hearst policies on international affairs to those of the McCormick-Patterson press, which he tends to approve.

The chapter of this volume which supplies its title is interesting as far as it goes, but one could wish that the author had attempted a more extended analysis of the causes of the "disappearing daily" and its corollary—the monopoly of the press. Mr. Villard provides some useful notes on newspaper mortality and points out that the survivors, despite growth in circulation, tend to decline both in craftsmanship and influence. One reason he adduces is the extent to which newspaper ownership has become a highly capitalized business into which only the wealthy can hope to force their way. The tendency of proprietors, he says, "is naturally to think and act as do the members of the economic group to which they belong, and to drift steadily away from the plain people and especially from the workers."

Strangely enough, however, Mr. Villard does not seem to realize the part which the Associated Press has played in diminishing competition in the newspaper business and in protecting vested publishing interests. In discussing the anti-trust suit against the A. P. he lines up with the publishers, contending that there is no evidence that the news agency has been a factor in promoting monopoly. He points out that newspapers, denied A. P. service, can still rely on the U. P. and the I. N. S. but ignores the fact that these services do not and cannot provide competitive coverage in "news of spontaneous origin." More than that, he overlooks the fact that in many cities today a new daily, barred from the A. P. by the rules which the Department of Justice challenged, could not obtain any news service owing to exclusive contracts with the other agencies held by existing papers. Finally, he charges that the prosecution was motivated by the exclusion from the A. P. of a New Deal organ. Would it be any less gratuitous to assume that Mr. Villard's defense of the agency would have been less passionate if it had gored one of his own pet oxen?

My disagreement with Mr. Villard on this and other points does not in the least discourage me from recommending his book as a valuable companion to the newspaper reader. We need more such candid appraisals of an institution which plays so important a part in all our lives. For it will be much easier to preserve freedom of the press if its hidden workings are revealed and its readers allowed to know what makes it tick. One of the most regrettable tendencies of modern newspapers, and one which I wish Mr. Villard had dwelt upon more directly, is their general refusal to criticize each other. There was a time when editors pounced fiercely on each other's errors and delighted in controverting each other's views. But now such polemics are regarded as bad for business, and there seems to be a gentlemen's agreement that dog shall not eat dog. I should like to see Mr. Villard speak out strongly on this point. If the press policed itself by mutual criticism, the dangers to its freedom which he stresses would be greatly lessened.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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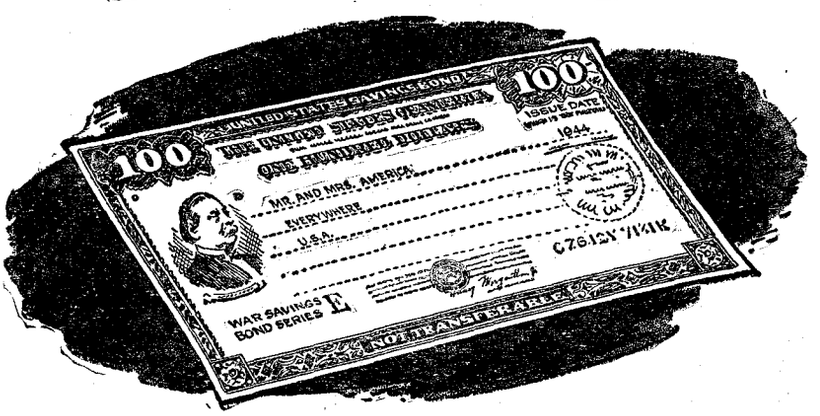

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Sovereignty and Peace

THE CONSTITUTION AND WORLD ORGANIZATION. By Edward S. Corwin. Princeton University Press. $1.

EDWARD S. CORWIN'S new book contains only fifty-seven pages, but this is enough to pickle the American isolationists in an equal number of ways. The noted Princeton professor of law starts off in the first paragraph by reducing the isolationist outcry against violation of American sovereignty to an absurdity. How, he asks, can national sovereignty prevent the United States from assuming international obligations which other sovereign nations are free to accept? That would lead to the paradox that the United States, because it is more sovereign than other powers, is less capable of acting as it chooses, and therefore is less sovereign than the others.

Professor Corwin examines the three possible conceptions of sovereignty: (1) that it is a concept of international law under which nations are bound to fulfil their obligations toward each other; (2) that it is an inherent characteristic of the individual state, which is free to accept or reject international law on the basis of self-interest; (3) that the only real sovereignty is in the family of nations, which bestows what is called sovereignty upon its members.

He rejects the third concept as "a tour de force of heroic rationalization directed toward a selected ideal" (by the Austrians Kelsen and Verdross). The first, he decides, is the one that was held by the founders of the American republic. It has "been invoked myriads of times" by our State Department against other nations accused of violating international law, and has been accepted by the United States when advanced by other countries, as in the question of liability of American coastwise shipping for Panama Canal tolls.

Nevertheless, the author concludes, the ruling concept has been the second one, that nations are fundamentally free to do as they please, violating international law when they choose and overriding treaties by unilateral legislation. Its dominance is due to the fact that international law itself recognizes war as a legitimate instrument of national policy. The unlimited right to make war destroys international obligations, and total war wipes out international law. From the very first an attempt has been made by writers to escape this dilemma by distinguishing between just and unjust wars, but there has been no agency to do the distinguishing. That is where the proposed world organization comes in. By limiting the right to make war it would exalt the concept held by the American Founding Fathers—that national sovereignty exists within the obligations of international law.

If that is true, Corwin asserts, there is no impairment of sovereignty when a nation restricts its freedom of action by accepting membership in a world organization. Perhaps this coincides with, perhaps it goes beyond, the opinion I expressed in "Road to Peace and Freedom" that impairment of national sovereignty is not involved in the American choice because "there is no need to amend the Constitution to confer revocable authority upon a world association of nations." Dr. Corwin does not specifically deal with revocability, but his treatment of power and obligation carries

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a suggestion that the power to commit involves the power to revoke a commitment, yet that the power to revoke might give way, in time, to an overruling obligation not to do so. In either case entry into a world association is an act of sovereignty designed to support the nation's obligations under international law. If it be contended that sovereignty with binding obligations is not total sovereignty, then, says Corwin, "when total war is the price of total sovereignty, the price is too high."

Turning to constitutional powers and restrictions, Corwin finds that no restraints are placed upon American freedom of action in the foreign field by our system of dual federalism, or by guaranties of private rights. State authority does not enter this province of national policy, while by the supremacy clause of the Constitution treaties and laws of the United States are superior to the laws and constitutions of the states.

The fact that the federal government is one of "enumerated powers" imposes no limitation in the foreign field, for two reasons. First, the author points out, treaty-making is one of the enumerated powers, and it extends indefinitely beyond the other enumerated powers. The one-time effort to restrain treaties to the subjects covered by other powers "may be unqualifiedly asserted to be defunct." Secondly, in the international field, the Supreme Court has tended more and more to regard the national government as one possessing inherent powers which exist not by virtue of specific clauses in the Constitution but because such powers belong "to the American people as a sovereign political entity at international law." This allows the federal government to act in the foreign field by legislation as sweepingly as it can by treaty and makes it impossible for a minority in the Senate to block the road. The power of Congress in this field is being indefinitely extended, while the special powers of the Senate are steadily shrinking. Contrary to the rule in domestic matters, the silence of the Constitution serves to affirm power in the foreign field instead of to deny it.

The end result is to establish Congress "as the legislative organ of a nation which is sovereign at international law," and free to act accordingly. Hence our national government may enter validly "into a general engagement with other governments either to exercise its constitutional powers in the furtherance of international peace or to forgo their exercise for the same purpose."

By this brilliant and penetrating analysis, amply sustained by historical evidence, Dr. Corwin has swept all constitutional issues, all questions of impairment of sovereignty, out of the field of legitimate debate. That will not, of course, silence the hubbub raisers. IRVING BRANT

Welfare Work in Greece

BALKAN JOURNAL. By Laird Archer. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

BEFORE the Germans came to Athens with their scientific methods of mass starvation, Laird Archer had spent twenty-one years in Greece, Albania, and Bulgaria attempting to counteract the effects of the starvation of the First World War. As field director of the Near East Foundation,

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he was combination fund raiser, go-getter, agricultural expert, and relief administrator. He was also something of a diplomat, for the success of his school, farm, and sanitary projects depended in large measure on the good-will of the governments of all three countries. In recognition of his considerable services to Greece, Mr. Archer was decorated by George II with the Order of the Phoenix. To what extent this honor affected his political judgment I am unable to say. I can only point out that, despite continual references to his own democratic convictions, Mr. Archer in his war diary has little but praise for Their Majesties George, Zog, and Boris, and even goes out of his way to defend the late John Metaxas.

"Whatever else may be said about Metaxas in history," he writes in his awkward style, "it should record correctly that he was sincere in these two things: making the country strong to defend itself and improving relations with its neighbors." This is the usual Metaxist line of argument, and Mr. Archer is no more successful in producing evidence to support it than any other apologist for the old regime. He makes much of "the rugged fortitude and undoubted patriotism of this really great military leader" but fails to offer any explanation for the appalling miscalculations of the general staff and the outright treason of so many of Metaxas's principal aides. In justice to Mr. Archer, it must be said that while he minimizes he makes no effort to conceal the inconsistencies of Metaxas's position. He repeats the dubious story about the letter which the dying dictator is said to have written to his friends warning them, after it was already too late, to beware the treachery of the Germans; yet he admits that Metaxas refused to close the radio transmitter in the German Legation by means of which Greek military secrets were known in Rome and Berlin before they were known to most Greek officers on the firing line.

Mr. Archer is a well-meaning exponent of social uplift, and it is perhaps too much to ask that he combine his humanitarian activities with political understanding. Nevertheless, I doubt whether there are very many people in Greece today who would agree that Metaxas was really a friend of labor, or that "recriminations [against the King] at this moment are unbecoming. . . ." Mr. Archer is now in Cairo, I understand, and may soon be returning to Greece in charge of some phase of UNRRA operations. If so, it is to be hoped that he will ponder the prophetic words of his colleague, Harold B. Allen, quoted in his diary: ". . . . we get cooperation from all of them, presidents, kings, prime ministers, or dictators. The only trouble is we may get efficiency now at the expense of internal strife later on." That remark, it seems to me, is even more pertinent now than when it was uttered in 1936. If Mr. Archer had seen fit to draw the obvious conclusions, he would have written a more illuminating book.

LEIGH WHITE

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Fiction in Review

REX WARNER'S "Return of the Traveller" (Lippincott, $2) is chiefly interesting for the fresh evidence it brings of the difference between the way the war is being written about in England and over here. I have several times commented on the refusal of American fiction to discuss any of the political, social, or psychological realities of this war. Ideologically the war plays about the same role in our current novels that a storm plays in murder mysteries: it is something noisy going on outside the house to add to our indoor tensions. But this is not the case in England, where, probably because of a different cultural tradition or perhaps only because the walls between the outdoor and indoor worlds have been blown in, all classes of novelists at least dare to nibble at the real issues. And now it seems that even in the matter of titles we on this side of the Atlantic show our disposition to evasion: Mr. Warner's book, published in England under the blunt name "Why Was I Killed?" appears here labeled for a more delicate taste.

Mr. Warner is best known in this country for his "The Wild Goose Chase" of some years ago, a Kafka-like fantasy. In "Return of the Traveller" the Kafka element is gone, but fantasy to a certain extent persists. Mr. Warner's new novel, that is, employs a fantasy device, the return to earth of a dead soldier, as the basis of a philosophical research into the possible justifications for the present war. Appropriately enough, the research starts among a group of people gathered at the tomb of an unknown soldier; Mr. Warner's philosophical microcosm includes a priest, an upper-class English patriot, a self-seeking member of the English lower middle class, a socially conscious intellectual, an emotional woman pacifist, and a refugee, each of whom first argues his attitude toward the war and then, by a flashback, reveals the source of his opinions in his personal and family history. But although each of the revelations is illuminating, none of the group except the priest can give the soldier a satisfactory answer to his question, "Why was I killed?" For it happens that, dying, the soldier himself had had a double vision—of the battlefield and of the sunny valley of life—and among the people the soldier is canvassing only the priest has also had this vision; it appears that Mr. Warner means, by this double vision, the tragic view of life—the view of life that includes a view of death. But here "Return of the Traveller" becomes muddled: Mr. Warner's mystical syntax becomes hard to follow. I take the last chapter of Mr. Warner's novel to be a plea for a kind of political theism: it seems to say that good politics must be based on a tragic view of life and that a tragic view of life depends on a belief in something which can encompass both life and death—in other words, in God. At least, Mr. Warner's priest makes it clear that only God is big enough to surpass all the conflicting ideas which have been presented to the returned soldier, that God is the only idea big enough to organize all of mankind into brotherhood, and that only in brotherhood is there hope for the future of mankind.

The religious proposition is very much in the air these days, and one should perhaps have been prepared for Mr. Warner's religious revolution, but the modern intellectual comes to religious faith disconcertingly well armed with the

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arguments of the world; consequently the forthrightness with which Mr. Warner presents the positions which he finally discards threw me, for a good part of the way, off the religious scent. In the light of his religious conclusion, however, even the truths he announces in passing lose their validity. "Return of the Traveller" issues in an attitude which, to some, may be personally consoling but which can scarcely be useful, I think, either in avoiding future wars or in comprehending this one.

Three novels by women have come to me which have me wondering about my sex. Such a field day of villainy I haven't come across in many a fictional moon. "No Mortal Fire" by Elsa Valentine (Simon and Schuster, $2.50) is a detailed account of the incredible doings of a young woman of Nazi leanings; but it seems to me that the Nazi tie-up merely gilds this lily. "Insurgent Summer" by Charlotte Aiken Yarborough (Harper and Brothers, $2.50), a first novel not without writing talent, has it in for a publisher—which is understandable enough, I hear, but surely might be held within convincing limits. Fanny Sedgwick Colby's "The Apple Must Be Bitten" (Scribner, $2.50) has it in for practically the whole race of man, divorce lawyers included. It all seems vaguely unhealthy.

Victor White's "Peter Domanig" (Bobbs-Merrill, $3), on the other hand, is not a bit unhealthy; it is just long. And I am sorry to report my disappointment at Howard Hunt's novel about Henderson Field, "Limit of Darkness" (Random House, $2.50); there was a quality in his first novel, "East of Farewell," which I hoped Mr. Hunt would improve on.

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DRAMA

"DREAM WITH MUSIC" (Majestic Theater) is said to have cost $200,000, and I've never seen a more dazzling display of costumes, scenery, girls, and "effects." The show is a vehicle for Vera Zorina—complete with a magic carpet that actually moves, rather cumbersomely, through the air. Miss Zorina's talents seem to me far better suited to musical comedy than to ballet. She has a handsome face and figure, she has a pleasant casual voice, and her angular movements are, in this setting, rather attractive than disturbing. But she has little to work with, though "Dream with Music" is as full of machinery as a defense plant.

There is not an ounce of original creative talent in the show—the music is cadged from the masters, the lyrics are limp, the book is very, very dull. And it is so lavish a spectacle that I found myself thinking solemnly of Marx and Veblen, of priorities and the coming invasion of Europe. Except for the girls, it would make a fine text for a study in conspicuous waste.

The mountain of money has, however, produced a mouse—literally. There is a mouse which sings, with Zorina, a number of which the burden is that it's too bad when mouse meets girl because they are biologically incompatible—as gruesome an idea as could well be invented by a desperate song writer. MARGARET MARSHALL

FILMS

DR. CORYDON M. WASSELL, an unspectacular man, too compassionate and brave to mesh smoothly, in crisis, with authoritarians, was ordered, when Java was about to fall, to abandon several helplessly wounded sailors who were in his charge. He refused, stayed with them, kept them alive, and with great difficulty got all but one of them out of Java to Australia. I do not feel I need to have been there to know that his story is one of the great ones of this war; also, that it could be much better told through moving pictures than by any other means; also that on both counts Cecil de Mille's screen version of it is to be regretted beyond qualification. It whips the story, in every foot, into a nacreous foam of lies whose speciousness is only the more painful because Mr. de Mille is so obviously free from any desire to alter the truth except for what he considers to be its own advantage. All the more touching, and terrifying, is the fact that Dr. Wassell himself thinks that the picture, with a few trifling exceptions, is true and good.

Well, he has a right to be generous, or deceived, which none of us can dispute with him, far less claim for ourselves. One measure of the truth and goodness of the film is the difference between the elderly, simple face of the doctor and the simple yet far from simple face of the high-priced male beauty who enacts him. I like Gary Cooper; but God himself, assisted by all nine Muses, could not have made an appropriate film of "Dr. Wassell" once that piece of casting was settled on. For another measure, I choose one minor detail. When the ship out of Java is strafed and a young woman is wounded, and her ankle is being bandaged, the occasion is used to slip in a discreet bit of leg art. That, I can promise you, is typical of every shot in the movie. If you'd like another sample—I could go on forever—I offer the cinegenic idiocy of a moment when Dr. Wassell, wheeling out of a shelled road, drives his lorry through every roadside fowl-pen which, in his urgent predicament, he can get within range. Here are three brief respective counter-suggestions: (1) If you must use an actor in this sort of film, where no actors belong, get an inexperienced, unknown man who looks right and is right inside and who lacks mythologizing power, and train him only so much as need be. Failing that, use an obscure, realistically competent, somewhere nearly appropriate professional like Edward Ellis. (2) If a woman is wounded, her flesh may very possibly be exposed, but for heaven's sake photograph it in such a way that nobody in your audience can possibly gobble it up—or vomit it out—as criminally misplaced cheese cake. (3) Dr. Wassell was a country man, and a gentle one. I would assume that his country-bred reflexes might cause him to try his best to avoid juggernauting livestock; and I know that this frightening conflict of reflexes could have made a wonderful moment in the film.

This viciously bad picture and a fine one called "Attack!—The Invasion of New Britain" furnish between them an opportunity—almost an obligation—to discuss our war movies to date. I hope I can do so soon, and do some justice also to "Attack!" Meanwhile I urge you to see both pictures if they are available; one as a sumptuous demonstration of our confused sense of reality—a confusion which amounts almost to insanity; the other as an antidote, a cleanser of the eyesight, and a restorer of hope and respect for what we can do when we honor and understand our subject and our craft. JAMES AGEE

ART

SEVERAL hundred of the Metropolitan Museum's best paintings—shipped off more than two years ago for protection at a time when air defenses were less adequate"—have been returned to Fifth Avenue and were last week put on exhibition once more. Only about twenty of the canvases have been cleaned or restored; yet most of them seem to have acquired fresh luster during their absence. The impression is partly owed, no doubt, to the redecorated galleries—on which the museum staff is to be congratulated. In two or three cases the color scheme may be unfortunate, but this detracts little from the total effect. Seeing the pictures again calls forth a surprising amount of joyous emotion. These are among the relatively few indisputable achievements, the integrity of which history and circumstances will never overthrow, even when the canvas rots. That one can experience their actual presence, and not merely reproductions, seems a miracle.

The Museum of Modern Art's fifteenth-anniversary exhibition, "Art in Progress" (through October 8), is another source of pleasure. All three gallery floors of the museum have been filled with displays of painting, sculpture, architecture, industrial design, stage design, photographs, movie stills, posters, and more. The material, much of it borrowed, some of it owned by the museum, has been selected with an eye both to intrinsic and representative quality. This, in effect, is the modern movement as it is embodied in the more visual arts and crafts. The works in the painting and sculpture sections—beginning with Renoir, Degas, and Maillol among the French, Eakins and Homer among the Americans, and Lehmbruck and Barlach among the Germans—are well chosen; most of the examples have been borrowed and are more or less unfamiliar to the New York public. Matisse is shown at his best, and the spectator is reminded, as he needs to be, that the old Frenchman is the only living painter to offer Picasso any competition as a dominating force. But the

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absence of Vlaminck and Segonzac is unjustifiable; and I differ strongly with the museum on many of the younger artists whose work has been included —though some of the weakest of them are shown at their strongest. On the other hand, the notion given of American abstract painting is insipid and very unfair.

If the remainder of the exhibition is no better than it is, it may be because modern architecture, industrial design, and their allied fields are no better than they are. It is possible that there are errors of omission or inclusion, but I am not competent to decide. The architecture section seems to make the point, not intended, that no adequate modern style has yet been developed for the dwelling. I found nothing to quarrel with in the photography section except that Ansel Adams is given an undeserved amount of space, while only nine of Walker Evans's prints are shown. Evans is certainly our greatest living photographer after Stieglitz. Among the posters those of A. M. Cassandre, the French artist, which take advantage of every hint offered by the painting of the school of Paris, are superb.

The Museum of Modern Art does much in this show, as it did in its previous one, "Modern Drawings," to redeem its sins. Yet the redemption is a negative one. The best of what has already been accepted is made available, but the selection indicates no positive policy in respect to the art being produced at the moment. The museum continues to show an uneven catholicity to contemporary art beside which the present policy of the Metropolitan in regard to the art of the past appears narrow and dogmatic. The younger museum needs some of that strictness. The masterpieces at the Metropolitan furnish a standard which the Museum of Modern Art can well use to test the merits of contemporary art. Not that the works admitted into its galleries have necessarily to meet such a standard, but simply that they ought not to be completely irrelevant to it—as irrelevant, say, as the examples now on view of the art of Blume, O'Keeffe, Dali, Portinari, Zorach, Tchelitchew, Berman, Tanguy, Pereira, Robus, and more than a few others. The extreme eclecticism now prevailing in art is unhealthy, and it should be counteracted, even at the risk of dogmatism and intolerance. Inevitably, the museum makes enemies. Let it make them for good reasons.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

ON VICTOR'S June list is Morton Gould's Latin American Symphonette (Symphonette No. 4), played by Iturbi with the Rochester Philharmonic (Set 964; $3.50). In this work Gould uses the rhythms and idioms of Latin American dances; but he also uses his technical expertness to produce something cleverly surprising or amusing at every beat—which is too much, and wearying after a few measures. The performance is appropriately explosive and is well recorded.

Also on the list is a Suite No. 1 by a sixteenth-century composer, Esajas Reusner, played by Fiedler with his Sinfonietta (Set 969; $2). The dances are agreeable to listen to, but no more than that; the performance seems good; its recorded sound is a little shrill.

On a single disc (10-1099); $.75) is a charming song of Schubert, "Auflösung," sung by Eleanor Steber. On this record, which must have been made two or three years ago, Miss Steber's beautiful voice is often clouded by tremolo to a degree where it is not pleasant to listen to. The reverse side offers a trashy song by Cimara, "Canto di primavera," which I imagine Miss Steber, clutching roses, has sung at the end of her recitals. Another single disc (11-8595; $1) offers Kipnis's sonorous singing of Rachmaninov's "Harvest of Sorrow," lugubrious but not bad, and Gretchaninov's familiar "Over the Steppe," quite bad in spots.

The rest is even less consequential and can go uncommented on. Some surfaces were fair, a few very noisy.

Commodore Music Shop, which specializes in jazz records, makes its own records of "Classics in Swing," and puts on Sunday afternoon jam sessions at Kelly's Stable, has resumed recording after a long interval and issued several superb performances—with spontaneity and vitality in the ensembles, and inventive power in the solos—by a group comprising "Wild Bill" Davison (trumpet), George Brunis (trombone), Pee Wee Russell (clarinet), Eddie Condon (guitar), Gene Schroeder (piano), Bob Casey (bass), and George Wettling (drums). On a ten-inch disc (546) are "That Da-Da Strain" and "Ugly Chile"; on a twelve-inch (1511) are "That's a Plenty" and "Panama." The other performances that Commodore has issued—by the Edmond Hall Sextet, Eddie Heywood and his orchestra, Leonard Feather's All Stars, and the Big Sid Catlett Quartet—are full of showy virtuosity, luxuriance of style, and tricky or gilt-and-plush scoring.

From the major companies the only comparable release is Columbia's "Blues by Basie" (Set C-101; $2.50), in which "Count" Basie, supported by the rhythm section of his orchestra, improvises variations on "How Long Blues" (36710), "Cafe Society Blues" (36711), and "Farewell Blues" and "Way Back Blues" (36712), and is joined by Buck Clayton (trumpet) and Don Byas (tenor sax) in "Sugar Blues" and "Bugle Blues" (36709), "Royal Garden Blues" (36710), and "St. Louis Blues" (36711). Basie's inventive power and rhythmic sense are extraordinary; but even when they are operating, his delicate piano-playing, all in the treble, needs his rhythm section to give it foundation and body; and there are moments when the performance is nothing but rhythm section with an occasional delicate peck or chirp by Basie. I say rhythm section; but the surfaces of my copy are so noisy that there are only a very few places where I can be sure I am hearing drums and guitar in addition to string bass. Clayton and Byas play very well in "Sugar Blues" and "Bugle Blues," less interestingly in the others.

As for books, I had intended to review Panassié's "The Real Jazz" (Smith and Durrell; $2.50) and Goffin's "Jazz From the Congo to the Metropolitan" (Doubleday, Doran; $2.50); but I have come to feel there is no point in a detailed explanation of why they are not worth reading. There exists—if you are interested—one piece of appreciative writing about jazz by a man who knows the music and loves it and utters sense in the process of writing about it with warmth and color; this is Wilder Hobson's "American Jazz Music." There is also—if you must have that—a musicologist's unloving dissection of the melody, harmony, rhythm, and structure of jazz, with a few heavily philosophical trimmings that are easily and wisely disregarded; this is Winthrop Sargeant's "Jazz Hot and Hybrid." The rest—books, articles, record-notes—is unprofitable.

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Letters to the Editors

Can a Soldier Vote?

Dear Sirs: There has been a good deal of controversy over the soldier's right to a special, expeditious voting law. Under the present compromise each individual state still has the power of directing the voting procedure of the soldiers claiming residence in that state. California has one of the more liberal sets of laws regarding the absentee voting of its soldier-citizens. What follows is the history of how one California soldier got in his vote:

Let's call him Pvt. Joe Polachek, a newly naturalized American citizen, in the army for five months, all of which were spent in a Signal Corps training camp in Missouri. He is perhaps a little more conscious than most of the precious rights for which he and millions of Americans like him are fighting. This is the first time he has had the opportunity of enjoying that essence of democracy, the casting of a ballot. The right to elect the men who will represent him and who will formulate and administer the laws under which he lives he realizes is a privilege worth dying for if need be. He will not let that privilege wither from neglect or be lightly pilfered from him. For this reason, when it was finally decided in Congress that the states should continue in charge of the service man's vote, Joe sat down and wrote his registrar of voters in Los Angeles for instructions on absentee registration and voting. He received an application for absentee registration with printed instructions on absentee voting. The hardest rule to follow was to get a commissioned officer to certify the application; they all seemed to think it was a highly dangerous business and "passed the buck" to someone else. Pvt. Polachek returned the application, duly filled out and at last signed by a commissioned officer, and received a receipt of registration.

Next, Joe ferreted out the supply of War Department Form Number 560, a request for an absentee ballot, which should have been easily obtained in any company orderly room. The orderly room neither had the cards in stock nor had any idea of getting them. The first sergeant and the company commander expressed disgust over Joe's taking an interest in voting instead of concentrating only on his army studies. At last a friend of Joe's who worked in an administrative office of the post happened across a stack of these Number 560 cards. He gave Joe part of them. Pvt. Polachek took it upon himself to distribute the cards among his buddies, vigorously urging them to fight for true democracy at home by voting. He mailed his own request card to the Secretary of State of California. Weeks went by without any sign of the awaited ballot. Thinking that the first card might have been misplaced or lost in the mail, Pvt. Polachek sent in a second card after the usual unpleasantness of persuading an officer to sign it. Several more weeks slipped by. Pvt. Joe Polachek took the Secretary of State to task with a letter. That gentleman informed Joe in his answering letter that his office was merely a clearing house which sent the requests to the various county registrars. Time continued its inevitable march. No ballot was forthcoming. But Pvt. Joe was not to be brushed off like a speck of dust from an official's glass-topped desk. The governor of the state next heard from dauntless Polachek in a scathing registered air-mail letter. By this time the county registrar's office in Los Angeles had sent a non-partisan ballot, which omitted Presidential, Senatorial, Congressional, and Assembly candidates, together with another application for registration, indicating that the receipted previous application had been misplaced!

Again the application had to be filled out and a reluctant officer, who obviously was uninformed about the whole procedure, pinned down to sign it. On the day Pvt. Polachek was unexpectedly shipped back to an assignment in his home town of Los Angeles, he received a reply from Governor Warren's office blandly informing him that his communication had been forwarded to the county registrar of voters.

Now the registrar in Los Angeles returned the second application for registration untouched with a letter stating that at the time of his first request for a ballot, Joe Polachek's registration affidavit had not been on file, but that since then it had been filed and the party ballot sent. When he arrived in Los Angeles, Pvt. Joe immediately presented himself at the county registrar of voters' office, where he was wryly greeted and shown the small stack of correspondence of which he was guilty and which had eventually all found its way to the registrar's desk. The office claimed to have just mailed the party ballot, and in fact it did arrive a few days later. Certain by now that the army wanted nothing whatever to do with election, Pvt. Polachek marked his ballot before a civilian notary rather than incur the displeasure of his local army superiors. The deed had been done! Joe had cast his ballot to the best of his ability after spending considerable of his free time in study of the candidates and their platforms.

How many other "Joes" accomplished the same feat remains to be seen.

M. S.

Hollywood, Cal., May 20

Concerning Mr. Gilbert

Dear Sirs: On May 6 you published an anonymous letter attacking the Post-Graduate School of Journalism of Chungking and the new dean, Rodney Gilbert.

In your caption you asked a question, "Is It Journalism?" In reply I inclose the Chungking *Reporter*, which is edited and published by the students of the Chinese school and is now, after seven issues, self-supporting. This newspaper was created and made possible entirely and exclusively by the establishment by us, in cooperation with Hollington K. Tong, of a school to teach journalism to Chinese college graduates.

The product of this Chinese school is journalism.

It is always disappointing when any publication prints a letter or article without investigating the facts at the source. The anonymous writer whose letter you published also made a personal attack upon Mr. Gilbert, alleging that he is "a notoriously anti-Chinese writer." Mr. Gilbert has been a personal friend of Mr. Tong's for at least a quarter of a century, and it is highly unlikely that Mr. Tong or his superiors in the Chinese government would permit Mr. Gilbert to return to China if the label you put upon him were true.

Both this school and the leading citizens and officials of China have complete confidence in the integrity of Mr. Gilbert as an individual, in his high moral and ethical standards as a journalist, and in his teaching ability.

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As a journalist, I regret to see *The Nation* permit its columns to be used in time of war for sabotage.

CARL W. ACKERMAN

New York, May 10

[Readers of *The Nation* may be interested to learn that the copy of the Chungking *Reporter* which Dean Ackerman inclosed with his letter to refute the allegation that "the School of Journalism was merely a branch of Tong's propaganda department" contained as its feature article a defense of the totalitarian restrictions on press freedom by the Minister of Information and an apology for Chiang's refusal to permit the foreign correspondents to visit the Communist areas. Mr. Ackerman's artful dodging of anti-Chinese charges against Rodney Gilbert is also interesting in view of the fact that Mr. Gilbert's long-standing Chinese attitude is literally an open book. Twenty years after its publication Mr. Gilbert's "What Is Wrong with China?" still stands as the most exaggerated and unfounded attack ever made on the Chinese people and their civilization. Throughout his years of experience in China, and more recently as an editorial writer for the *Herald Tribune*, Mr. Gilbert has remained one of the most extreme exponents of treaty-port diehardism.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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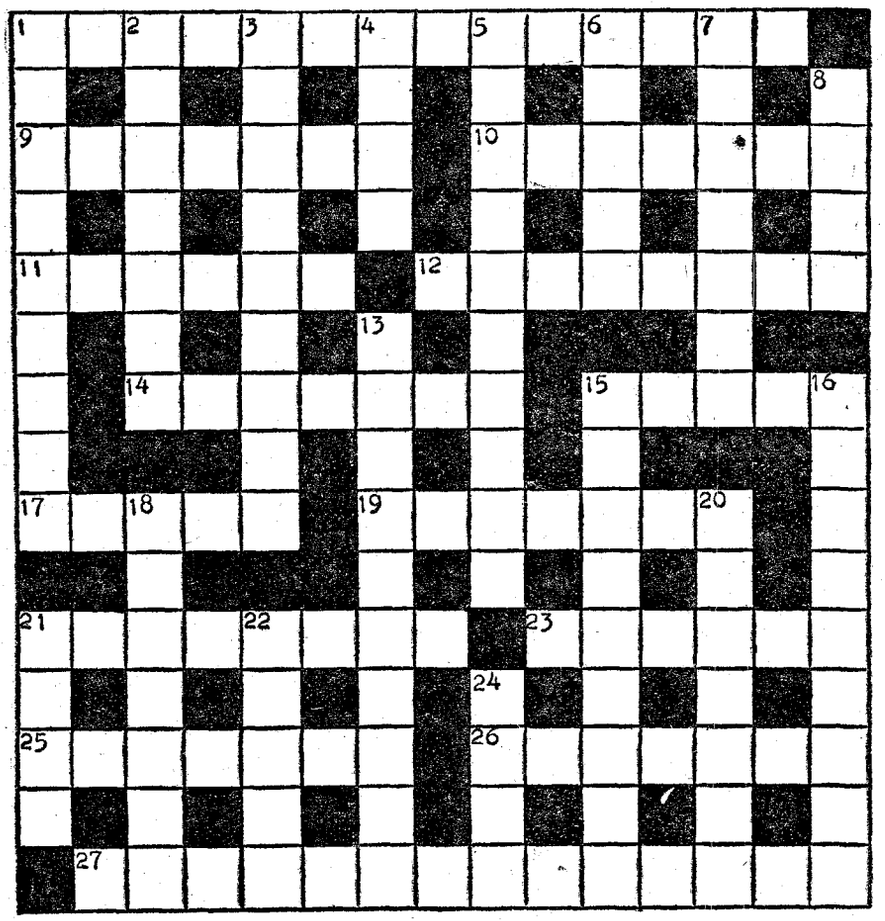
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 67

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 If they ever did lie down together the latter was probably *inside* the former (four words, 4, 3, 3, 4)
9 Elizabeth's state, with Raleigh's cloaked connivance
10 Artist's own copy
11 My set's out of order
12 A genuine quality
14 All Americans, in the eyes of most Europeans
15 Rhinestones, possibly
17 Jack Tar's workaday uniform.
19 "What can ------- sots or slaves or cowards? Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards" (Pope)
21 Arctic expedition's iron ration, complete with container
23 "Untwisting all the chains that tie The ------ soul of harmony (Milton)
25 I'm in Art, and can always give you a cocktail
26 Redhead (anag.)
27 It looks as though a good root-hold would be essential to plants in these (two words, 7 and 7)

DOWN

1 One of the household, if upset, might cause the lad dismay (two words, 5 and 4)
2 An epic journey
3 and 8 They follow Shrove Tuesdays (two words, 3 and 10)
4 Wooden skirting
5 Rash ensign (anag.)
6 There may be a buttonhole in this
7 Works hard (sounds like dirty work in the Bowery!)
8 See 3
13 He only eats one kind of marrow
15 A bookmaker not necessarily connected with the Turf
16 I need muse, and get Greek furies!
18 Poetic name for Wales
20 It's a pleasure to this a check
21 A cougar's got father in the extremities!
22 All right on cakes, but not on airplane wings
24 He would have sent Oliver Twist to prison if Mr. Brownlow hadn't interposed

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 66

ACROSS:—1 START; 6 COLTS; 9 IVANHOE; 10 ERROR; 11 LIVID; 12 ARSENAL; 16 POMADE; 19 FAULTY; 22 SELECTORS; 23 JEHU; 24 USES; 25 NIGH; 26 TEAR; 27 USED; 29 POLE; 30 ENTOURAGE; 33 LEGREE; 35 NUDIST; 38 ASCENDS; 41 MAZER; 42 STORE; 43 EXAMPLE; 44 SIDED; 45 TOSCA.

DOWN:—1 SWEEP; 2 ABRAM; 3 TIRADE; 4 CATS; 5 CHAN; 6 CELLAR; 7 LEVEL; 8 SADLY; 13 RELEGATES; 14 ETCH; 15 AFOREHAND; 17 OVERSEE; 18 ASUNDER; 20 USURPED; 21 TRELLIS; 28 TUNE; 31 NEARED; 32 GUSSET; 33 LIMNS; 34 GAZED; 36 IRONS; 37 THETA; 39 CHAR; 40 NIPS.

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